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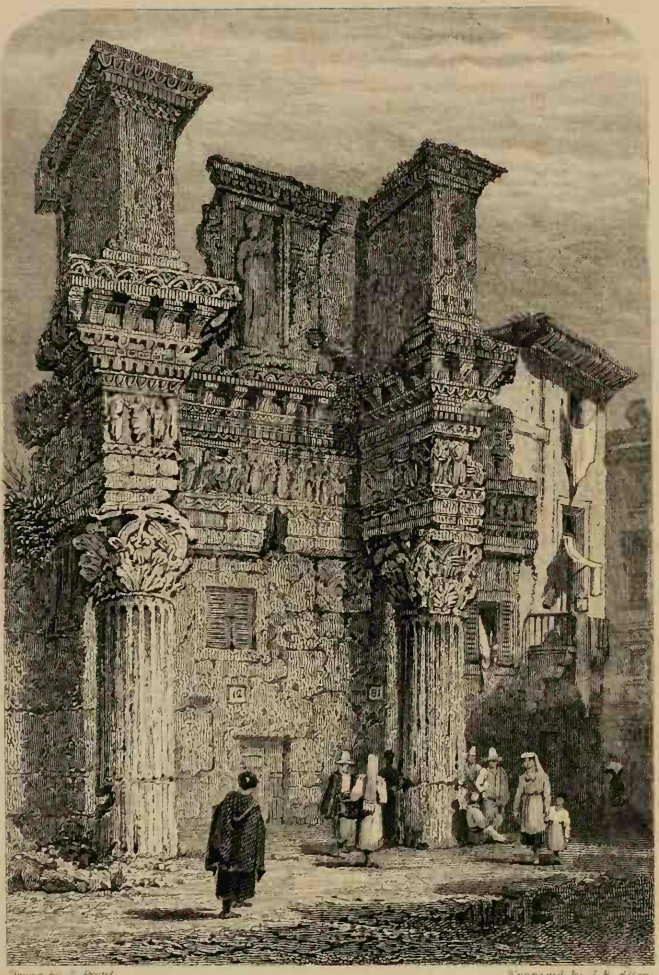

Drawn by S. Prout. Engraved by J. B. Allen

Remains of the

FORUM OF NERVA

See p. 276

THE CITY OF ROME:

ITS VICISSITUDES AND MONUMENTS

FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES,

WITH REMARKS ON THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS,

BY

THOMAS H. DYER, LL.D.,

AUTHOR OF THE "HOUSE OF SAVOY," "HISTORY," "EMPIRE AND," ETC.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

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PREFACE.

THE design of the present work is to describe within a moderate compass the rise, progress, and decline of the city of Rome, the origin and story of its more famous monuments, and, without entering into their political causes, the vicissitudes of the city, either through domestic discord or the attacks of external enemies. Even during the Middle Ages, ancient Rome, or rather its remains, is principally kept in view. For it would have been impossible, within the prescribed limits, to give a description of the modern city, or what may be called Christian, in contradistinction to pagan, Rome. On this head only a few of the principal churches have been noticed, which, as they date their origin from the time of Constantine I., or shortly after, may be considered to belong as much to the ancient as to the modern city. With a view to add interest to the subject, a description of some of the more striking scenes of which Rome was the theatre has been attempted; and, when it was possible, brief allusions have been made to the lives and residences of

those who have adorned it by their genius, or illustrated it by the prominent part which they played in its affairs.

As the present attempt to give a connected history of the Roman city is, to the best of the writer's knowledge, the first that has been made in the English language, he hopes that this circumstance may not only be a recommendation of his book to the reader's notice, but that it will also serve to excuse some of the defects which may be observed in it. The sources from which the author drew are noted at the foot of the pages; but he is here bound to acknowledge his obligations generally to the works of Dr. Papencordt, Herr Grègorovius, and the late M. Ampère.

It only remains to say, that such passages in the first edition of this work as recent discoveries have proved to be wrong or inadequate have in this edition been corrected. Fortunately they are neither very numerous nor very important. The Introduction in the former edition respecting the credibility of the early Roman history is here omitted, because the subject has been treated in a more elaborate manner in my subsequent *History of the Kings of Rome*, and because the classical topographer may very well content himself with the views which the Romans themselves entertained respecting their ancient monuments. It is only as illustrating these views, and the texts which relate to them, that topography can have

any value in the eyes of the scholar, and not the mere archæologist.

In this edition several engravings have been introduced, which, it is hoped, will add interest and value to the work.

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER,
Oct., 1883.

The wood-engravings have been selected from Mr. R. Burn's large work on "Rome and the Campagna," and the publishers desire to thank Mr. Burn for permission to make use of them.

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PREFATORY TOPOGRAPHICAL REMARKS.

THE following work does not specially concern Roman topography; but as the recent excavations at Rome, which I had the opportunity of examining in the winter of 1882-3, have thrown a new light on some important parts of that subject, I shall here briefly advert to them, and consider some of the inferences and arguments to which they have given rise.

Of these points the most interesting and most disputed is that respecting the site of the CAPITOLINE TEMPLE. No excavations have been undertaken for the purpose of deciding it, but some alterations made in 1865 and 1875-6, at the German embassy, where formerly stood the Caffarelli Palace, partially laid bare foundations evidently belonging to an ancient temple. The former of these excavations was examined by Commendatore Rosa, who has given some account of what he saw in the *Annali del Instituto* for 1865. The chief points in his paper are, that in his opinion the foundation blocks of tufa are not cut in the Etruscan style, being longer than they are high, though the Capitoline Temple was built by the Etruscan, Tarquin, and in all probability by Tuscan workmen; secondly, that the building must have had a north-western aspect, facing the Campus Martius and Circus Flaminius, or almost the reverse of that ascribed by Dionysius to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

This excavation, however, seems to have been too partial to afford any satisfactory *data;* and I shall, therefore, pass on to the second and more extensive one made in 1875. This was conducted by the German architect, Herr Schupman, who has described what he found in a letter published by Signor Lanciani in an Article written for the *Annali del Instituto*, 1876. The letter states that it results, with much probability—*con molta probabilità*—that the ground plan of

the building formed a rectangle of 51 × 74 *mètres;* but he adds that the breadth of 51 *mètres* could not be measured.

But though Herr Schupman had not arrived at entire certainty in this matter, Herr Jordan, now an eminent authority on Roman topography, asserts that the breadth of 51 *mètres* is fixed with indisputable certainty—*unzweifelhaft festgestellt*[1]—and goes on to give the plan of his temple accordingly. This point, however, I will not contest with him; for if the breadth were either greater or smaller, it would make still more against his view. If greater, though it would better accord with Dionysius' account, that the temple was very nearly square, it would still further disagree with it as to the dimensions of the temple's circumference; if smaller, it would make the oblong, instead of square, shape of these foundations, still more remarkable. Besides, there is enough, I think, in the *data*, as accepted by Herr Jordan, to show that the remains could not have belonged to the Capitoline Temple.

That gentleman, indeed, admits that he cannot reconcile his plan with the description given by Dionysius, which shows that the temple was on a lofty substructure, or platform, and measured in circumference 8 *plethra*, or 800 Greek feet,[2] which is about the same in English measure. And it must have been nearly square; for the two smaller sides were not quite 15 feet less than the greater ones. Dionysius further says that the front faced the south and had triple rows of columns, whilst the sides had only one row. About the back he says nothing, whence it may be inferred that it was a plain wall. The temple contained cells for three gods, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

I will now examine Herr Jordan's reconstruction of the temple, of which he gives a plan in his *brochure* on the Capitol. It presents an oblong building, whose longest sides measure about 240 Greek feet (74 *mètres*), and the shortest about 166 (51 *mètres*); thus forming a building longer than the true one by 40 feet, and narrower, deducting the 15 feet, by 19. This structure is traversed, it is said, throughout its length by four parallel walls within the two exterior ones; and, as the temple was hexastyle, it is supposed that these six walls served to support the treble rows of six columns, which formed the portico.[3]

[1] *Capitol, &c.*, p. 58: cf. *Topographie der Stadt Röm im Alterthum*, B. i. Abth. 2. Berlin, 1882.

[2] Lib. iv. c. 61.

[3] *Topographie*, B. i. Abth. ii. S. 84 sq.

I am no architect, but it seems to me surprising that walls should have been built of the whole length of the temple merely to support columns which were at one of its ends. Again: as there were three cells in the temple, there must have been two interior walls to separate them, and these could have had no connection with the six walls mentioned. For though the cell of Jove was larger than either of the others, it could hardly have been three times larger; which it would have been if its dividing walls had been built on the two next to the exterior ones; and in that case, moreover, why should the two middle walls have been carried through Jove's cell? where they could have served no purpose whatever. Further: Jupiter's cell, where he sat on his golden throne, being broader than the others, as shown on a coin of Domitian's, would have made a difference in the intercolumniation of the pronaos. For the columns, as shown on that coin, standing at the side of the cell, and not before it—a position which would have partially hidden the god from his worshippers—must have rendered the intervals between the six columns unequal, and they could not, therefore, have rested on six parallel and equidistant walls, as shown in Herr Jordan's plan.

The form and orientation of the building offer still more ground for disputing that author's view. It is evident that Dionysius meant his description to be strictly accurate, for he gives the dimensions of the smaller sides to the fraction of a foot, when he says that they differed from the greater ones by *not quite* 15 feet. Could he then have been so blind or besotted as to give only 200 feet for the length of the building, when it was actually 240? A difference that must have been palpable even to the most casual spectator. Or to regard as a square what was really a very pronounced oblong? As to the orientation, Herr Jordan, taking for the front of his temple the opposite end of it to Rosa's, makes it face nearly south-east, instead of due south, as described by Dionysius. And if it be said that a difference of some 30 or 40 degrees is a very trifling matter, I will observe that it is sufficient to make it utterly impossible that the statue of Jupiter, which stood before the temple, should, when turned to the east, have faced the Curia and Forum. I will only further observe about the front that Herr Jordan places it at one of the narrow sides, whereas, as there were three cells, it is more natural to suppose that they would have occupied one of the long sides. But then the temple would have faced north-

east or south-west; and though in the former case, by a slight obliquity of vision, Jupiter might have caught a side view of the Curia and Comitium, such an aspect would have been almost directly opposite to that assigned by Dionysius, and would also completely demolish the argument from the six parallel walls.

Herr Jordan is not altogether insensible to these objections, and meets them in a way only too frequent with some German writers who find their theories at variance with classical authority, namely, by contemptuously disputing it. Dionysius, it is said, is wrong both in the dimensions and the orientation of the temple, that is, he has made two disgraceful blunders in one sentence. He was, it is said, neither a land surveyor nor an architect, and could not, or would not, make himself either. But surely it required not the skill of a land surveyor to know where lay the south, nor that of an architect to measure the length of a wall. Such egregious mistakes as he is supposed to have made would have been enough to ruin his character as an author. It might be imagined that Herr Jordan, entertaining such an opinion of him, would have dismissed him altogether, as worse than useless. But no: that seems to have been thought too bold a stroke; so it is attempted to make his account tally, in some sort at least, with Herr Jordan's notions. Although his reconstruction of the temple shows a very decided oblong, yet if the sides be multiplied into one another, the product will differ from that of Dionysius' square temple by only some 3 or 4 *mètres*[1]!! On such an admirable method of reasoning it is unnecessary to waste a word. It implies that Dionysius was calculating the cubic contents of the building, instead of giving his readers an idea of its external shape and size.

It appears, then, that even Herr Jordan has some misgivings about altogether dismissing classical authority; and indeed it is plain that all that can possibly be known about an ancient and non-existing building must be derived from ancient descriptions of it. If any remains of such buildings be discovered, the only method of identifying them must be by comparison with the descriptions; and if they should widely differ, we can only conclude that they must have belonged to some other structure than that of which we are in search. In the present case, it may not be difficult to discover what that other building was.

The temple of Juno Moneta stood on the Arx; and that it

[1] *Topographie*, B. i. Abth. 2, p. 71.

was a large one is evident from the fact of its having eventually become the Roman mint. It occupied the site of the house of Manlius, who repulsed the Gauls. Their assault was made from the Porta Carmentalis, and was therefore directed against the southern summit of the hill. Manlius is awakened by the cackling of the geese sacred to Juno, which must have been on that summit; for had they and Manlius been on the northern summit, it is impossible to conceive how at such a distance the geese should have heard the stealthily clambering Gauls, or how Manlius also should have been awakened, and should have arrived in time to cast them down. Cicero expressly says that the attack was made upon the Arx;[1] and though it may be allowed that the whole hill was sometimes figuratively called Arx, just as it was also termed Capitolium, yet, in speaking of actual warfare, it is reasonable to suppose that Cicero would have used the word in its proper and restricted sense. Nor does it matter whether the story of Manlius be a legend or not; for even if it were, it would have been invented in a manner conformable to the actual topography.

If the foregoing observations be just, then it follows that the Capitoline temple could not possibly have been on the southern height; for it would not have afforded space for another temple of such large dimensions, and the two were admittedly on different summits. The southern height being thus negatived, we are necessarily driven to choose the other; and consequently these remains prove exactly the reverse of what Herr Jordan would make them.

That writer, however, though he asserts in the most positive manner—no unusual resource with those who have a doubtful case—that the Capitoline question is finally and irrevocably settled by this discovery, yet it is plain enough that he feels some misgivings. For if the matter is so certain, why should he strive to support his view with passages from ancient writers, and inferences from Middle Age traditions, most of which have been adduced and refuted over and over again? With regard to the latter, it was, he says, the learning of the second half of the sixteenth century that revived the names of Mons Tarpeius and Rupes Tarpeia, and baptized after them the lanes and churches in the neighbourhood of the Capitoline hill. Exactly so: of what value, then, these names, as proofs of anything? But it is not true, as he asserts, that they were anciently used only in Rhetoric and Poetry; for Varro, who

[1] *De Republica*, ii. 6.

was an exponent of the vernacular tongue, tells us that the Capitoline hill, called in his time Capitolium, had once borne the name of Mons Tarpeius.[1]

The way in which the scholars of the Middle Ages drew their inferences may be seen from the fact that Blondus was the first to give the name of Capitol to the ruins on the southern height, because a church in the neighbourhood bore the name of S. Salvator de, or in, Maximis, or Maximo; which appellation was incontinently thought to be derived from Jupiter's second title of Optimus *Maximus:* and in this he was followed by Albertini and Marliani. So also in the present day by Herr Jordan,[2] so far as the origin of the name is concerned; but he thinks it was first derived in the early Middle Ages from the Porticus Maximæ, near the Porticus Octaviæ, and might then have been transferred to S. Salvator. But the occasion of the title of this church was evidently quite different. The Turin List of Churches, quoted by Papencordt in his *Stadt Rom.* (§ 56), shows that it lay beyond the still existing church of S. Giorgio in Velabro; for, proceeding in a southerly direction, the List names other churches beyond S. Giorgio before arriving at S. Salvator. That church, therefore, must have lain at, or near, the Circus Maximus, and therefore in Region XI., to which it gave name; and hence doubtless the designation of the church. It is impossible to have a more striking instance of the uncritical spirit of the early topographers than their connecting this name with the ruins on Monte Caprino.[3]

All traces of the real Capitoline temple had vanished long before the time of Blondus; since he mentions the church and convent of Araceli, which occupied its site, and the Senator's Palace, as the only buildings then existing on the hill.[4] After the temple had been stripped of its golden roof by Genseric in the middle of the fifth century it went rapidly to decay. Some writers assert that the Basilica of Araceli was founded by Pope Gregory the Great towards the end of the sixth century, and Nibby[5] writes that a church dedicated to the Virgin was founded there at the end of the seventh century; but Casimiro, who has written its history, says that

1 *De Lingua Latina*, v. 41.

2 "Von dem zweiten der Beinamen des Jupiter *optimus maximus* wäre sicherlich, wennüberhaupt, der Beiname *de* (oder *in*) maximo gebildet worden."—*Topographie*, B. ii. Abth. 2 Anm. 33. S. 33.

3 The reader will find more on this subject in the 8th Section of the present work.

4 *Rom. Inst.* i. 73, ap. Jordan *ib.* p. 33.

5 *Roma Antica*, p. 570.

its origin is quite unknown.[1] All that is certain is that it was called S. Maria *in Capitolio* in the thirteenth century; for that appellation is given to it in a Bull of Pope Innocent IV., ann. 1250, by which he transferred it, along with the monastery, from the Benedictines to the Frati Minori,[2] and it bears the same name in a Bull of the Anti-pope Anacletus II. in the early part of the preceding century.[3] At that date the site of the Capitol was doubtless known by tradition. The same Bull mentions the Templum Majus super Alaphantum, by which must be meant the large temple, or the remains of it, on Monte Caprino, of which I have spoken. And, indeed, at that time, as there are no records of its destruction by the Barbarians, or of any church or other building having been erected on its site, it was in all probability in a tolerable state of preservation, and so remained till the Caffarelli Palace was erected on its foundations. Nor can it be contended that the term, *majus*, used in the Bull, means the Capitoline temple, for the name, *Capitolium*, is also employed in regard to Araceli in the same instrument, thus showing that they were separate and distinct things. It merely means, "the great temple;" and, no doubt, the Capitoline having vanished, it was then the greatest at Rome. In progress of time the designation, "in Capitolio," was dropped, and the name of Araceli substituted for it. About the etymology of this name many conjectures have been hazarded, among which Nibby's derivation from *aurocielo*, or the golden roof, is as probable as any. At all events, however, it conveys the idea of something pre-eminently grand and sacred, as a church founded on so famous a temple naturally would be.

It would be irksome minutely to re-examine the passages from ancient authors adduced by Herr Jordan[4] to dissipate the lurking mistrust he evidently feels about his theory. Most of them have been frequently cited before, especially by Becker; and the late Lord Broughton,[5] no mean authority, was of opinion that I had completely demolished, in my article, "Roma," the arguments founded on them. I will further observe that Herr Jordan does not insist upon the arguments from the attacks made by Herdonius and the Gauls, which may therefore be considered as refuted. I will therefore only briefly advert to the more important and the fresher points started by Herr Jordan.

It is asserted that the Capitoline temple stood over the

1 *Storia, &c.*, p. 5, sq. 2 *Ibid.* p. 17. 3 Nibby, *Rom. Antica*, p. 508.
4 See the *Topographie*, B. i. S. 65 sq. 5 *Italy*, vol. ii. p. 12 sq.

Tarpeian rock on the Caffarelli height, or Monte Caprino, whilst the Arx was above the Temple of Concord, on the Clivus, and was, therefore, the Araceli height. The Tarpeian rock is now pointed out in the garden of the German hospital. But that situation is utterly at variance with Dionysius' account of it, who says that it overhung the Forum, whence executions on it, by precipitation, might be seen :[1] whereas the rock alluded to faces nearly due south, and overlooks not the Forum, but the Piazza della Consolazione, so that an execution at it, from the distance and the outline of the hill, would have been visible only at the extreme eastern end of the Forum, provided the Romans had had telescopes. I now, therefore, recant what I have said on this subject in the Article "Roma," for, in questions concerning Roman topography, one may tarry at Jericho till one's beard grows.

The only spot on the whole Capitoline hill which answers to the description of Dionysius is where the guard-house now stands at Araceli. This, like the Carcer underneath, is "imminens Foro," which, as Herr Jordan, rightly I think, assumes, extended somewhat further northwards than at present, for want of excavation, it would seem to have done. An execution at the spot indicated would have been visible over the whole Forum.

Herr Jordan asserts (p. 65) that all attacks upon the Capitoline hill are directed against the Capitol. This might be true if the southern height were the Capitol. We know of four attacks upon the Capitoline hill : by Herdonius, by the Gauls, by Gracchus, and by the Vitellians. I have shown (*Roma*, p. 763) that Herdonius' attack was not on either height, but on the Clivus Capitolinus between both, and so proves nothing. That of the Gauls on the Clivus had been repulsed, and therefore they tried to scale the southern height, which, however, was the Arx. The last two attempts were by Romans themselves, to whom not only did the Clivus and other points accessible from the Forum offer readier access, but also the temple formed a kind of fortress, the possession of which was moreover desirable for a revolutionary leader, by being the seat and home of the tutelary deities of the city, and so lending a sort of prestige to his undertaking.

Let us consider a little the revolutionary attempts made by Tiberius Gracchus and by the Vitellians. In the former

[1] Lib. vii. 35 sq. : viii. 78. Becker's attempt (*Röm. Alt.* i. s. 412) to explain away the words ἁπάντων ὁρώντων is a good example of sophistry.

Gracchus is killed, either at the entrance of the temple or on the Clivus, whilst some of his followers are hurled down the precipices,[1] by which, no doubt, the historian means the precipitous part of the Capitolium, hard by the temple, where stood the Tarpeian rock. Even now, after the lapse of 2,000 years, during which it must have undergone many changes, the aspect of the spot shows that an abrupt precipice might very well have existed there. In the other attempt, the Vitellians, having been repulsed at the Clivus, try to mount at other places, and among them by the Hundred Steps near the Carcer.

These steps were near the Temple of Concord, on the Clivus, and it has been assumed that Ovid alludes to this temple in the following lines:

> Candida te niveo posuit lux proxima templo
> Qua fert sublimes alta Moneta gradus.
> Nunc bene prospicies Latiam, Concordia, turbam, &c.—*Fasti* i. 638.

This obscure passage is said to contain a *hypallage*, and that it was not Moneta that supported the steps, but, as is more reasonable, the steps that supported Moneta; and hence it is argued that the Arx containing her temple must have been the northern height. Allowing the proposed interpretation, there is still no proof that Ovid was alluding to Opimius' Temple of Concord. There were on the Capitoline hill several temples bearing that designation, and in my Article I observed that Ovid probably meant that erected by Camillus. But I had overlooked two passages in Livy,[2] showing that it was more probably the temple vowed by the Prætor, L. Manlius, and dedicated A.U.C. 536. This was near the pristine residence of the Gens Manlia on the Arx, and suits well with Ovid's description of the prospect which it enjoyed. As the temple of Moneta was on the highest point of the Arx (*Fasti*, vi. 183), and raised on a lofty substruction, its "sublimes gradus," near that of Concord, may have been those indicated by Herr Jordan in his plan of the Capitol near the Palazzo dei Conservatori, but which, in accordance with his theory, he assigns to the Capitoline temple.

Among the old arguments and passages raked up by Herr Jordan he occasionally introduces a new one. I do not recollect having before seen the argument from the head of

[1] εἰς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα κατερρίπτουν. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 16.

[2] Duumviri creati M. et C. Atilii ædem Concordiæ, quam L. Manlius prætor voverat, dedicaverunt. Liv. xxiii. 21. The vow was: ædem *in arce* faciendam. *Id.* xxii. 23.

an earthenware image of Summanus, which stood somewhere on the Capitoline temple, having been carried by a flash of lightning, or a thunderbolt, into the Tiber, whence it is argued that this could not have been done unless the temple stood on the height nearest the river. It is hardly necessary to examine this inference seriously. Even had the head been so carried a single stade, it would, I fancy, be a new fact in natural science; and, by a little more stretching, it might easily have been affirmed to have been carried two stades.

Another argument is drawn from a fire beginning near the Pantheon and spreading southwards to the Porticus Octaviæ, which was some 200 *mètres* distant from the southern part of the Capitoline. It is therefore impossible that the fire should have caught a building there *immediately*, as Herr Jordan says (*unmittelbar*, p. 65). The Portico lay about opposite the middle of the hill (see Becker's plan of Rome), and might just as easily have extended to one height as the other. From the situation of Herr Jordan's temple, too, the fire must have caught the back of it, which was only a plain wall; whilst in the other case it would have caught the front with its wooden architrave and eagles, which is much more likely.

The argument from the words "templum majus quod respicit super Alafantum," in the Bull of Anacletus is valueless, or rather makes against Herr Jordan's view, for as I have shown (p. xv), the word *majus* must be referred to the temple of Juno Moneta.

Two or three of the arguments used by Herr Jordan are also brought forward by Mr. Burn, as those from Caligula's bridge and from the statue of Jove before the Capitoline temple. These I have endeavoured to refute in my Article, and will only observe now that when the bridge is said to have reached the Capitolium, that may only mean the Capitoline hill; or, that being the act of a madman, it may really have crossed the Forum. To say that Caligula could not have done that, is to require "ut cum ratione insaniat." It was probably only a light wooden structure, calculated for a person on foot.

Employers of the argument from the statue of Jove turned to the east before the Curia, appear to assume that his line of vision must have been confined to a strictly straight mathematical line, without allowing any latitude to the sidelong power of the eye; and yet it may be supposed that the eyes of Jove were thought to resemble those of a mortal. Anybody placing himself on the little platform before the church

of Araceli and looking due east, will see the whole Forum and the Arch of Titus beyond it; and even if a strictly straight line were drawn, it would pass over the site of the Curia, one of the chief objects, according to Cicero, in the line of vision. But it is wonderful that Herr Jordan should have used this argument (p. 66), for it is certain, that had the statue been before the temple, as he places that building, it could not have gotten a view of the Curia, and only a very partial one of the Forum.

The argument from the number of temples, or shrines, on the northern height, which Mr. Burn considers to be one of the decisive proofs that the Capitoline temple could not have been there, but which is not urged by Herr Jordan, seems to me to be valueless. The greater part were small *ex voto* affairs, nor was the difference between the size of the two heights and the two temples so great as to make the argument more applicable to one than the other.

From what has been said, I think it follows that the remains discovered at the German embassy, as well as all passages in ancient authors relating to the matter, when rightly interpreted, prove that the Capitoline temple could not have been on Monte Caprino, and consequently must have occupied the Araceli height. And I further think that some of these passages indisputably establish that position.

I will now advert to the Forum, which, as the centre of the political life of Rome, may be said to possess even more interest than the Capitol.

When I first went to Rome, more than a quarter of a century ago, to prepare my Article "Roma," the whole area of the Forum was covered with earth and rubbish to a depth of many feet, and the only object visible upon it was the column of Phocas. That column proves that at the beginning of the seventh century the Forum retained its ancient level. It was at the same date that the temporal power and grandeur of the Popes was founded by Gregory the Great; and it was to succeeding Popes and the great families either directly or remotely connected with them, that the destruction of ancient monuments is chiefly to be attributed. Their riches and power had been enormously augmented by what it is now the fashion to call the "unearned increment," arising from the natural progress in wealth of the papal city, which had become the capital of Christendom. The princes of the Church, and other nobles, required magnificent mansions and palaces, the materials for which were gotten from

ancient buildings, and not only did the Popes sanction this practice, but also often adopted it themselves, especially for the erection of churches. Hence the line :—

Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecere Barberini.

The custom grew with years, and it is perhaps in the century or two preceding the papacy of Leo X. that the greatest havoc in this way was perpetrated. It was in full activity in the time of Julius II., Leo the Tenth's immediate predecessor. Raphael, who was then in Rome, witnessed the destruction of many ancient buildings, and he particularly charged Bartolommeo della Rovere, apparently a relative of that Pontiff, with being guilty of the practice.[1] It was not merely the carrying away of parts of these structures, and the consequent ruin of them, which caused that accumulation of rubbish under which the Forum lay buried. It was the custom to get pozzolana from their foundations,[2] and these being destroyed, the buildings of course fell in. Hence, seeing how crowded the Forum and its vicinity were with temples and other structures, much of the mass of rubbish that formerly covered it may be accounted for. Leo X. arrested, in its more destructive form, a practice worthy only of barbarians; chiefly, perhaps, on the representations of Raphael, who was an enthusiastic admirer of ancient art and architecture; but even Leo, by a Bull dated in Sept., 1505,[3] gives permission to carry away pieces of ancient marble for building S. Peter's, on the condition, however, that they should first be examined by Raphael, whom he had made architect of that Basilica, to see that there were no inscriptions upon them.

Before the recent excavations, the appearance of the Forum was most disappointing to anyone imbued with ideas of Roman grandeur. The impression is considerably bettered now that it has regained its ancient level, and almost its ancient limits. But the north side[4] is not yet excavated, and probably never will be during the present generation, on account of the buildings standing upon it; and we do not, therefore, gain a complete idea of its breadth. Even at its best, however, from the nature of its site, almost enclosed by

1 *Projet d'un Rapport*, ap. Passavant, *Vie de Raphael*, t. i. p. 510, note.
2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.* p. 506.
4 The Forum, in its length, bears nearly south-east and north-west; but for the sake of shortness and perspicuity, I call the side on which stands the churches of S. Martina and S. Lorenzo in Miranda, the north side; and the other sides respectively, the east, the south, and the west.

hills, it could never have been, *per se*, an object of superlative grandeur. The Forum of Pompeii, from its commanding situation, is much more striking than that of Rome; and even in size, though belonging only to a second or third-rate provincial town, it is not very much inferior. This last defect in the Roman Forum was remedied under the Empire by the addition of several adjacent ones; and it was these, together with the magnificent temples and other buildings which stood upon or surrounded the ancient one, that must alone have given this quarter of Rome an air of splendour unequalled in any other city.

Before the excavations were undertaken, the limits of the Forum, except on its northern side, were known, and even the sites of the principal objects upon it might be inferred with tolerable accuracy. These, however, are now ascertained and made palpable to the sight. The pavement is shown to have sloped gently down from its western and eastern extremities to a line that may be drawn across its breadth passing between the Temple of Castor and the Basilica Julia. The purpose of these slopes was apparently for draining off the rain-water into an opening in the Cloaca Maxima, which may be seen at the eastern end of the Basilica. They are partly due to the nature of the ground, but were no doubt improved by art.

Regarding the streets and roads over the Forum and in its vicinity, the Nova Via, which skirted the northern side of the Palatine, has been partially laid open; and the *embouchure* of the Vicus Tuscus into the Forum between the Basilica Julia and Temple of Castor has been uncovered. With respect to the Sacra Via, little that is new or certain has been established. It was known before that it passed through the Arch of Titus and entered the Forum at the Arch of Fabianus, and these portions of it are still the only ones that can be fixed with certainty. Two roads are now shown to have traversed the length of the Forum. One of these, running along the northern side of the Basilica Julia, has by some writers been called the Sacra Via, whilst others style it the Via Triumphalis. Some, again, have given the former appellation to a road skirting the northern side of the Forum, of which there are partial and disjointed traces. But I am inclined to think that the first-mentioned view has more probability, judging from Horace's account of his walk.[1] For, having evidently entered the Forum at its eastern side, since

[1] *Sat.* i. 9. See also the Text, p. 242.

he tells his bore of an acquaintance that he is going to cross the Tiber, presently, as they saunter on, they come to the Temple of Vesta, which lay on the southern side of the Forum.

Finally, the road which spanned the upper part of the Forum upon arches, from the Via Bonella to the Via della Consolazione, has been demolished; thus not only giving free access to the Clivus, but also opening out an uninterrupted view from the Forum of the objects upon it. This removal, however, having occasioned a great *détour* for carriages, a new road is to be made across the Clivus Capitolinus, but in a way that shall not conceal the ruins upon it.

Having thus given an account of the clearance effected upon the area of the Forum and its surroundings, I will now advert to the objects discovered upon it.

Of these objects one of the most important is the TEMPLE OF DIVUS JULIUS, of which the ground plan is laid bare. It appears to have been a small building erected on a lofty substruction, and standing in the middle of the further, or eastern half of the Forum, between the temples of Vesta and Castor. It fronted the Capitol, and had a portico of six Corinthian columns, under which were the ROSTRA JULIA, at the spot which I had before inferred.[1]

Opposite the middle of this temple, on its southern side, and near the north-eastern angle of the Temple of Castor, a small oval bason marks the LACUS JUTURNÆ, where that demi-god and his brother Pollux, are said to have watered their horses after the battle at Lake Regillus. A little to the east of this a lofty circular substruction marks the site of the TEMPLE OF VESTA.

Proceeding to the upper or western half of the Forum, the base of DOMITIAN'S STATUE is seen, facing the temple of Julius and opposite to the eastern part of the BASILICA JULIA. The area of that building is now completely uncovered, so that its ground plan may be accurately traced, and even *graffiti* and drawings seen on the floors of its porticoes. At the south-west corner are some remains of its architectural elevation. Facing the northern side of the Basilica, on the further side of the street, perhaps the Sacra Via, that runs along it, are found disposed at regular intervals, seven rectangular structures, which some archæologists have taken to be bases of statues, or honorary columns; whilst others, with more probability, since they have a room or hollow in them, consider to be the TABERNÆ VETERES.

[1] *Dict. of Anc. Geography*, vol. ii. p. 792.

The rude and monstrous base of the column of Phocas is now uncovered, and offends the eyes of the spectator. Between it and the church of S. Adriano lie two curious PLUTEI, or marble balustrades, sculptured in relief, discovered in 1872. They are about 6 feet high and 16 long, and stand opposite to each other at a distance of some 10 feet. They appear to have rested on the pavement of the Forum without any support but their own weight, a fact which seems to show that they belonged not to any building permanently erected at this spot, but had been taken from some structure and placed there, most probably at a late period of the Empire, and, perhaps, as Herr Jordan conjectures,[1] at the time when the column of Phocas was erected ; an inference strengthened by the circumstance that no allusion to them is found in any ancient author. But for what purpose this was done is unknown. Being sculptured on both sides they evidently formed part of an avenue, or passage, one side being seen from within, the other from without. The reliefs on both the inward sides represent the Suovetaurilia, or sacrificial procession of the boar, ram, and bull. Those on the outward sides are far more interesting to the topographer, as they show in perspective the buildings surrounding the upper part of the Forum, and represent two historical scenes enacted in it. On that facing the east an emperor is seated before the Basilica Julia, at the upper end of the Forum. He is surrounded by attendants, and is setting fire to a heap of tablets, whilst a line of soldiers issuing from the Vicus Tuscus are bearing fresh tablets to the pile. On the other relief an Emperor is seen standing on the Rostra, and looking also towards the Vicus Tuscus, as shown by the statue commonly called Marsyas, but which is more probably that of Vertumnus.[2] The Rostra on which he stands must therefore be the old Rostra, and the Corinthian portico on his immediate left, approached by lofty steps, belonged to the Curia. The gate on the extreme left is that of the Janus Temple, which, as I have shown in my Article, and in the present work (p. 32), lay at this spot. It is represented on coins as having an arched gate, which is seen in the relief. Beyond the portico mentioned, and after an intervening space, the buildings on which have been effaced, follows a structure whose architecture resembles that of the Basilica Julia in the other relief; but it is not so extensive, having only seven intercolumniations, whilst the Julia is represented with twelve, which it

[1] *Capitol, &c.* S. 34.

[2] See Propertius, Lib. iv. El. ii. vv. 4 and 56.

actually had. This building, therefore, must be the Basilica Æmilia, which was re-erected by Augustus, and is in the same style as the Julia, which faced it.

It may be inquired how the Emperor, being in both reliefs at the same end of the Forum, and looking in the same direction, should in one of them see the right hand side of the Forum and in the other the left? To which it may be replied, that by a slight inclination of the head, or of the eyes, he might have seen both. But the point of view is chosen, not with regard to the Emperor, but to the spectator, who, in one relief is supposed to be placed in front of the temple of Julius, and in the other near the old Rostra, the object of which appears to have been that the artist might be able to delineate both sides of the Forum. Some critics, indeed, think that the south side of the Forum is shown in both reliefs, but this could not have been the case. The points of view are different, since the buildings on the Clivus Capitolinus, which are shown in one, appear not in the other. On the north side, again, are seen objects totally different from those on the south, as the Corinthian portico, the Janus, and the tribunal. It may be objected that, in a view from the old Rostra, the statue of Vertumnus could not have been seen on the left of the spectator. But neither in the other view could it have been seen on his right. That object seems to have been introduced merely to indicate the limits in which the scenes represented took place, that is, in the upper half of the Forum. And this is shown by the circumstance that the statue is not in true perspective, but juts out from the ground of the relief. In this relief an Emperor is again introduced seated on the tribunal mentioned, in front of what I have called the Basilica Æmilia.

That the three scenes represented in these reliefs relate to some historical event can hardly be doubted, nor that all three belong to one and the same event. In the western relief the Emperor is addressing a group of men, of whom the foremost, with uplifted right hand, is either requesting a favour, or returning thanks for one conferred. Further on, at the tribunal, with attendants behind him, he is addressing a female who stands before him, and who bears on her left arm something that, as far as its mutilated state permits to judge, resembles the packages or tablets seen in the other relief.

Combining the three scenes together, I will venture the following explanation of them, which may be taken for what it is worth. In the western relief the group of men before the

Emperor are representatives of foreign cities come to beg the remission of their debts. The scene at the tribunal relates to home affairs, and the female personifies Roma, to whom some favour is granted. In the other relief the Emperor himself is seen setting fire to an enormous pile of bonds, and that they are foreign bonds may be inferred from the circumstance that they are borne into the Forum through the Vicus Tuscus, thus showing that they have been brought to Rome by the Tiber.

The Emperor has been variously called Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius, who are all known to have done an act of this kind.[1] But he cannot possibly have been one of the three emperors last named, for the eastern relief shows the temples of Concord and Saturn on the Clivus, and between them an arch of the Tabularium. Now this interval was filled up before the time of Trajan by Domitian's temple of Vespasian, which would have hidden the Tabularium. Palpable evidence like this in marble is worth more than all inferences from texts, however ingenious they may be. We know from Suetonius[2] that Augustus burnt the tablets concerning old debts to the Treasury. We also learn from the following chapter of the same author that he was accustomed to administer justice at the tribunal, as he is seen to be doing in the western relief. It is, perhaps, not improbable that these slabs formed a frieze at the sides of the arch erected on the Forum in honour of Augustus. The fact of the reliefs with the sacrificial animals being in so much better preservation than those on the other sides, shows that they were inside some arched, or covered building. And it may be added that the sculpture is quite worthy of the Augustan age.

Some important objects have been discovered on or before the Clivus. On the north, or right, looking from the Forum, and close to the Arch of Severus, is seen a short conical pillar on a pedestal, in all probability the Umbilicus Romæ. Some distance to the left of this, and in front of the Temple of Saturn, is another small round pillar, which has been identified with the Milliarium Aureum. Between these two objects is a slightly curved terrace, and before it, towards the Forum, a platform of large square stones, which is with certainty identified with the Rostra, from holes in the stones

[1] Mr. Parker, *Architectural Hist. of Rome*, p. 127, considers him to be Marcus Aurelius, and attributes a like act to Hadrian. His assertion about the eight fingers, or rather five and three, is fanciful.

[2] Augustus, c. 32.

adapted for fixing the beaks of ships, from which it derived its name. The curved terrace is undoubtedly the GRÆCOSTASIS, or station where ambassadors assembled before admission to the senate. It was probably in ancient times raised a little higher than at present, and no more conspicuous station could have been chosen to gratify the pride and curiosity of the Romans assembled in the Forum with the sight of those representatives of vassal nations in their various costumes. And the proof that it really was the Græcostasis will appear from the following considerations about the COMITIUM, which a very recent discovery enables us to define with accuracy.

It is now ascertained that the Arch of Severus is built upon an ancient platform, which those who think that the Curia occupied the site of S. Adriano hold to have been the Græcostasis; but, puzzled by the terrace just alluded to, they are driven to assume that when the Græcostasis was supplanted by the arch, the terrace was made, as it were, *in memoriam* of it.[1] A preposterous idea! As if at a time when it was grown so entirely out of use that it could be ruthlessly destroyed, there should still have existed so great a veneration for it as to make such a memorial—and altogether, in that case, a false and deceiving one—necessary.

All this confusion arises from placing the Curia at S. Adriano; for one error as surely begets another as night follows twilight and makes entire darkness. Assuming this platform to have been the Comitium, everything proceeds in clear and indisputable order. We know that the Comitium was approached by steps. "Statua Appi—in Comitio, in *gradibus ipsis*, ad lævam[2] Curiæ." Looking from the porch of S. Martina, the Forum lies on the left, and consequently also the steps leading from it to the platform of the Comitium.

The Curia stood upon the Comitium, but somewhat higher, being erected, like all such buildings, on a substruction, and thus had steps descending from it. But this did not hinder them from forming a well-defined mass, and as it were, one block, marked off from the surrounding area. For we find that both were constructed at the same time, as parts of one plan, and hence they were capable of being surrounded with one and the same fence. "Fecitque idem (Tullus Hostilius) et sæpsit de manubiis Comitium et Curiam."[3]

[1] See an Archæological Article in the *Times*, May 18, 1883.
[2] Liv. i. 36.
[3] Cic. *De Rep.* ii. 17.

And now we begin to understand more clearly the innovation of Gracchus in addressing his discourse from the Rostra to the populace in the Forum, instead of to the Curia, and the more select and aristocratic audience assembled on the Comitium: that is, by turning to the east instead of to the north. Which passage is also a proof that the Comitium could not have extended into the Forum proper, so that part of it at least was before the eastern side of the Rostra, as some writers, myself included, have thought. It was, in fact, well marked off from the Forum by the steps before mentioned. And had the Curia been at S. Adriano, it is impossible to understand Gracchus' innovation.

But the crowning proof of the site of the Comitium is obtained by comparing the passages in Pliny and Varro respecting the observation of midday. The former says that it was proclaimed from *the Curia* when the sun was perceived between the Græcostasis and the Rostra, whilst Varro says that the proclamation was made from the Comitium.[1] This is no contradiction, but proves that the Comitium stood, as I have shown, just in front of the Curia. And the mid-day sun can be seen between the Rostra and Græcostasis, now laid bare, only from the westernmost steps of S. Martina. The interval between those two objects cannot be discerned from S. Adriano, where, indeed, even to see them at all, one must look nearly due west instead of due south. The passage in Pliny is terribly in S. Lanciani's way; he calls it a *rompicapo*, and says that it is quite unnecessary to examine it after the convincing arguments, as he styles them, which he has adduced.[2] These arguments I shall presently examine, and will here only observe that Pliny's words are as plain as the noon-day sun to which they relate, and if some topographers have misconstrued or misunderstood them, that is no proof that the true meaning is doubtful, but only that these critics have failed to discover it. And it must be remembered that they had not the aid which we now possess of seeing the true site of the Græcostasis and Rostra.

The site of the Curia at S. Martina, where I have always placed it, tallies both with recent discoveries and with Varro's description, which I subjoin,[3] from which also we further

1 Plin. *H. N.* vii. 60; Varro *L. L.* vi. 2, 5. 2 *Curia Hostilia Julia*, &c. p. 9.

3 "Curia duorum generum; nam et ubi curarent sacerdotes res divinas, ut Curiæ veteres; et ubi senatus humanas, ut Curia Hostilia. Ante hanc Rostra, quojus loci id vocabulum, quod ex hostibus capta fixa sunt rostra. Sub dextera hujus, a Comitio, locus substructus, ubi nationum subsisterent legati, qui ad Senatum essent missi. Is Græcostasis appellatus, a parte ut multa. Senaculum

learn the place of the SENACULUM. The Rostra, he says, were in front of the Curia; to the right of them, that is, looking from the Curia, or Comitium, was the Græcostasis, just as we now see them, and above the Græcostasis lay the Senaculum, occupying part of the area before the Temple of Concord. And these topographical details might be supported by many other passages in ancient authors, which it would be tedious to adduce.

It would require no little ingenuity to connect the objects just described with the church of S. Adriano, which lies at a considerable distance from them; a feat, however, which must be attempted by those who would place the Curia at that church. The principal exponent of this hypothesis is Signor Lanciani, in the paper before alluded to, published in the Transactions of the Accademia dei Lincei, and reprinted in a separate form (Roma, 1883). Naturally enough, S. Lanciani has no great predilection for ancient texts. He prefers to be guided by remains; admirable proofs, no doubt, always provided that they can be shown to agree with ancient descriptions, to which in all cases the ultimate appeal must lie; and so they become not primary, but only subsidiary proofs. In the present instance S. Lanciani calls in the aid of certain plans and drawings made some three centuries ago by Antonio Sangallo, Baldassare Peruzzi, and others, which he found in the Uffizi at Florence. These drawings, plates of which are given in S. Lanciani's tract, contain plans and measurements of the churches of S. Adriano and S. Martina, and of some adjacent objects. A vignette of the primitive church of S. Adriano, by Du Perac, is also given.

We are not informed with what view these drawings were made. It could hardly have been for the purpose of archæological research. That subject had been officially assigned by Pope Leo X. to Raphael, the contemporary of these artists, who was commissioned to make a plan of ancient Rome, so far as could be done, from extant edifices, for which purpose Raphael studied many ancient authors, and made surveys which appear to have extended over much the same ground as those of Sangallo and Peruzzi. He drew up a rough draft of a report upon the subject, which is preserved in the library at Munich, and has been published by Passavant in the first volume of his Life of Raphael. The MS. contained several plans of buildings drawn, doubtless, by

supra Græcostasin, ubi ædis Concordiæ."—*De Ling. Lat.* iv. 32. In my Article I wrongly referred the pronoun *huius* to the Curia, instead of *quojus loci*.

Raphael, which would at least be as well worth consulting as those which S. Lanciani has given us; but I know not whether they have ever been published. Raphael appears to have been well acquainted with the Forum Transitorium, and had seen part of it destroyed only a little while before he wrote.

It can hardly be supposed that Sangallo's and Peruzzi's researches, which must have required a considerable outlay both of time and money, were undertaken merely to gratify private curiosity. It is more reasonable to suppose that they were made with the view of using the area they embraced, or the vacant spaces it contained, for building purposes, and, perhaps, of combining the whole block into one magnificent structure. Indeed, S. Lanciani is of opinion that this was the object, at least, of B. Peruzzi's plan. We are not, therefore, to look for much special topographical information in these plans, and, indeed, the drawers of them seem not to have been well up in the knowledge requisite for that purpose. Some little research with that view may, perhaps, however, have been made as a secondary object, and at all events the plans, if correctly drawn, may afford some assistance to the topographer.

If we inquire on what evidence S. Adriano is thought to have been erected on the foundations of the Curia, we find that not only is there none to that effect, but that what there is runs the contrary way. The artists, so far from thinking they were drawing the Curia, took it to be the Temple of Saturn! Further: all documentary evidence, as quoted by Signor Lanciani himself, makes, as he admits, against his assumption.[1] The greater part of the authorities, he says, give a purely Christian origin to S. Adriano; nor does he adduce a single one to support his view. A negative proof against it is, that though Maranzoni, whom he quotes in a note, enumerates several heathen buildings which had been converted into churches, he does not mention the Curia, which, in the case of so famous a building, would have been strange indeed had it really undergone that conversion. The referring it, therefore, to the Curia, is the work of S. Lanciani, or those who started and share a view which not only is in contradiction of all classical authority, but also rests solely on arbitrary assumptions.

He attempts, indeed, a kind of negative proof by asserting (p. 13) that in the time of Pope Honorius I. it would have

[1] See the reprint of his paper, p. 14.

been impossible to build entirely *de novo* such a church as S. Adriano; but this is only an arbitrary assertion. Collateral proof tends the other way. Araceli, an infinitely finer church, is by some said to have been built in the preceding century, and though its real origin is obscure, it is certainly of high antiquity. Several other fine Roman churches were built a little before and a little after S. Adriano.

S. Lanciani not only takes that church to have occupied the site of the Curia: he is even of opinion that Du Perac's drawing, of which he gives a copy in Plate iii., shows not only the church of Honorius, but also the actual Curia of Diocletian; so that Honorius did not rebuild, but only converted it. In support of this view he contends that it has all the characteristics of the architecture of Diocletian's time, and he finds that it bears a similarity to the remains of that Emperor's Baths. If this be so, architecture must have woefully degenerated at that period. In Diocletian's time the splendid buildings which surrounded the Forum were in a state of good preservation, and it is passing strange that he should have erected, as a fellow to them, a building which has all the appearance of a common mediæval church. He might, indeed, have been able to build nothing better, if it were true that architecture had experienced so great a fall. But it is not so. Architecture long survived the decay of the plastic arts. In the opinion of Raphael [1] it flourished till the time of the latest emperors; and he points to the Arch of Constantine, Diocletian's successor, the finest at Rome, in proof of his assertion; the sculptures on which, with the exception of those taken from Trajan's buildings, exhibit a terrible decline in art. These show the spoliation of Rome's monuments begun by its own emperors, as it was afterwards continued. It may be added that the Basilica named after Constantine, but built by Maxentius, whose enormous arches still astonish the spectator, must have been a magnificent structure.

When S. Lanciani adverts to Diocletian's Baths we may ask, what are the remains of them? Only a small portion—the Tepidarium. But even this strikes with admiration the spectator who enters. Of the outside, indeed, much cannot now be said; but we may infer from the inside its former beauty. And we have Raphael as a witness to at least part of it. He mentions the Arch at the entrance of the Baths as one of the beautiful things destroyed in his time.[2] An

[1] *Projet, &c.* Passavant, t. i. p. 512. [2] *Ibid.* p 510.

architect capable of such a building would surely have been equal to the erecting of a handsome Curia, and would hardly have disgraced himself and his art by putting so mean a building as the church in question in juxtaposition and contrast with so many splendid ones.

To the topographer, however, this question is what the Germans call a mere *Neben-sache* in comparison with that respecting the Curia's site. It is difficult to see on what grounds, and with what reason, S. Lanciani combines the two churches of S. Martina and S. Adriano, and the two spaces between them into one enormous building, having a frontage of 50 mètres. This, one would think, must have been a great deal more than enough for the accommodation of some 500 or 600 senators, who we know often assembled in temples much smaller than the church of S. Martina. And if S. Adriano was the Curia it must be on the Comitium, which could hardly have extended so far eastwards. The reason why S. Lanciani regards these separate blocks of buildings as having in ancient times formed part of one and the same enormous structure, seems to be that they adjoin at the back a common wall, apparently belonging to a Forum. But it is possible that several quite independent buildings might have done that.

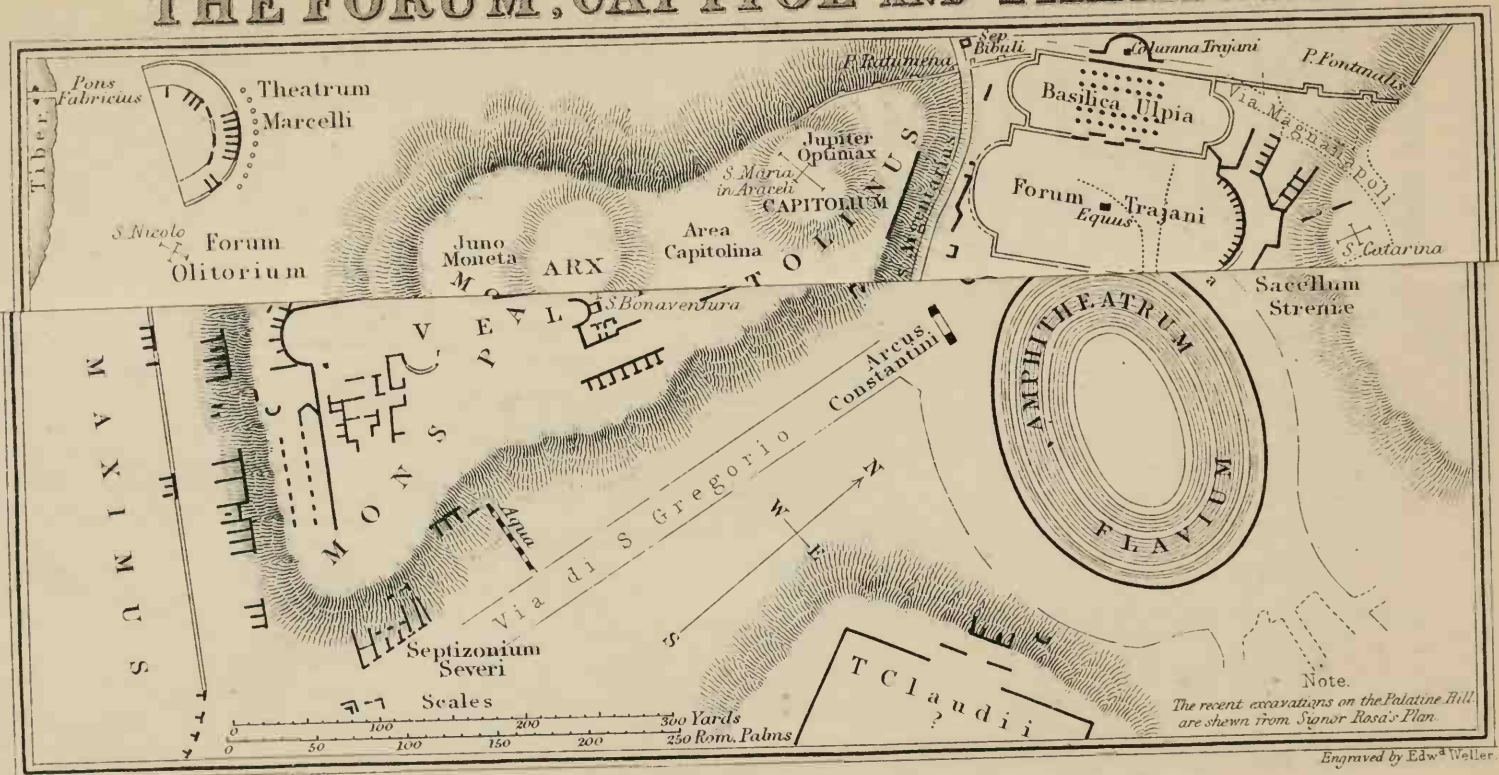
Again: let us look at the inconvenience resulting from S. Lanciani's arrangement. Although he will not allow the church of S. Martina to have been the Curia, he admits that it was its Secretarium. That church is separated from S. Adriano by an interval off some 80 feet, and it is not pretended that there was any communication between them. On the contrary, Sangallo's plan, as given and as described by S. Lanciani, presents a wall, without any opening, between the two buildings. When, therefore, the senators wanted to communicate with their scribes, they would have had to walk out of the Curia and proceed by the public road to their Secretarium! Again: an area large enough to contain the whole senate is assigned to the scribes employed in drawing up their Consulta, which were neither long nor frequent, and in cases requiring secrecy was done by the Patres themselves. The apsis of S. Martina would have quite sufficed for this purpose. I do not think, however, that S. Martina is built upon the actual foundations of the Curia, and thus shows its exact dimensions, but only that it occupies the Curia's site. The latter building may have been larger, and particularly may have extended rather more to the west.

Signor Lanciani gives us no notion of what the two vacant spaces between the two churches may have contained. They surely cannot have belonged to the Curia, which, with S. Adriano for its debates, and S. Martina for its scribes, would have had ample room and verge enough for all its needs. I will venture an opinion that they were occupied by the CHALCIDICUM, which Augustus built in contiguity with the Curia. That building seems to have occupied the site on which the Basilica Porcia previously stood, which, after its destruction by fire, does not appear to have been rebuilt.

There are other circumstances besides those I have before adduced, which prove that the Curia was at S. Martina. I have shown in the Article just referred to (p. 730 [1]) that the Janus temple, the index of peace and war, stood near the Curia, and present Arch of Severus. I will admit that Domitian erected a new Janus Quadrifrons near the present church of S. Adriano, but he did not destroy the ancient and venerable Bifrons. In fact he is known to have erected so large a number of Januses and Arches in all the Regions of the city that some wag, punning in Greek, wrote upon one of them, *ἄρκει*.[2] But it would be the height of absurdity to suppose that these structures could have had any sanctity attached to them. It is certain that the original Janus continued to retain its antique form and traditionary use. With whatever faults Domitian may be charged, he cannot be said to have been guilty of the destruction of ancient monuments; on the contrary, he is known to have restored many. And that the Janus Bifrons existed long after his time may be shown from a passage in Dion Cassius,[3] regarding Didius Julianus: *ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον ἦλθε, καὶ τῷ Ἰανῷ τῷ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῦ θύσειν ἔμελλε*: which shows that the sacrifice was to be made to the Janus *before* the doors of the Curia, which must have been that at S. Martina, for the Quadrifrons erected by Domitian was not before the door of S. Adriano, but at the junction of four streets by its side. So Martial [4] says: "Et fora tot numeras, Jane, quot ora geris;" because the streets it crossed seem to have been those leading to the Forum Romanum, and the Forums of Julius, Augustus, and Nerva. That the Janus Bifrons existed till a late period of the Empire is shown by passages in Lampridius and Capitolinus, quoted by S. Lanciani himself (p. 28, note): "Janus *geminus* sua sponte apertus est;" "Gordianus,

1 See also the text of the present volume, p. 32, sq.
2 Suet. Dom. 13.
3 lxxiii. 13.
4 Lib. x. Ep. 27.

THE FORUM, CAPITOL AND PALATINE.



aperto Jano *gemino*." Nor is it possible to stomach the palpable contradiction advocated by S. Lanciani, that the Quadrifrons had usurped the epithet "geminus" belonging to the Bifrons. After this array of testimony I may, perhaps, be allowed to appeal also to the Janus shown in one of the Plutei, in further proof of its situation, and that of the Curia. (Above, p. xxiii.)

Another very strong proof that the Curia was at S. Martina is that the Tribunes Munatius Plancus, and Pompeius Rufus, who were haranguing from the Rostra when the Curia was on fire from the burning of Clodius' body, were driven away by the heat of the flames.[1] This might very well have happened if the Curia was at S. Martina, but hardly if it had been at S. Adriano, for at the former place the Rostra were, as Asconius says, "prope juncta Curiæ," as we now see them to be, whilst S. Adriano is at too considerable a distance to make such an event possible.

[1] Asconius, in *Cic. Milon.*

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME.

SECTION I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BURNING OF THE CITY BY THE GAULS.

THE Palatine Hill is the proper nucleus of ancient Rome; the centre whence she extended her circumference as she gradually became the mistress of Italy, and at last of great part of the known world.

There are many traditions, or, as it has become usual to call them, legends, connected with the Palatine Hill before the foundation of Rome, which are useful to be known from the frequent allusions to them which occur in ancient writers in connection with the history of the city. The most important of these traditions refers to Evander, one of the representatives of the Pelasgian immigration into Italy. Evander was a native of Pallantium, an Arcadian town near Tegea, and is supposed either to have seceded from, or to have been expelled, his country about sixty years before the Trojan war, or 1,244 years before the birth of Christ.[1] He settled on a hill near the Tiber, which, from the place of his

[1] For the immigration of Evander, see Dionys. Hal. i. 31-33, 40; Virg. *Æn.* viii. 333 sqq.; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 471 sqq.; Varro, *L. L.* v. 53 (ed. Müll.); Serv. *Æn.* viii. 51 sqq., &c.

birth, obtained the name of *Palatium*, or *Mons Palatinus*. Virgil[1] traces the name to Pallas, who was a son of Lycaon, and founder of the Arcadian Pallantium; but there were several variations of the story which should be mentioned here. Thus some[2] traced the name of the hill to its having been the burial-place either of Pallas, son of Hercules and Dyna, a daughter of Evander; or of Pallantia, another daughter of Evander.[3] All these names are connected with the Arcadian immigration; but some etymologies refer to a totally different origin: as from Palanto, a daughter of Hyperboreus, and either mother or wife of King Latinus; from Palatium, a colony of Aborigines in the district of Reate; and still more improbably from *balare*, or *palare*, the bleating, or the wandering, of sheep.[4]

According to the tradition received by the principal Latin writers, Evander was the son of Carmenta, an Arcadian nymph, and Mercury. Carmenta was regarded by the Romans as a prophetess, prescient of the fortunes of Rome. She is important in the history of the city as giving name to one of its gates, the Porta Carmentalis; so called from an altar dedicated to her which stood near it.[5] This altar was extant in the time of Aulus Gellius and Servius.[6]

[1] *Æn.* viii. 51 sqq. Virgil, however, calls the city *Pallanteum;* and this name is adopted by the topographers of the middle ages:

> Delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem,
> Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum.

[2] Polybius, ap. Dionys. Hal. i. 32; Festus, p. 220 (ed. Müll).

[3] Serv. *Æn.* viii. 51.

[4] Serv. *loc. cit.*; Varro, *L. L.* v. 53; Festus, p. 220; cf. Klausen, *Æneas und die Penaten*, p. 883 sqq.

[5] Virg. *Æn.* viii. 333 sqq.; Ov. *Fast.* i. 461-586; Liv. i. 7.

[6] Gell. xviii. 7; Serv. *ad Æn.* viii. 337.

When Evander immigrated into Italy, Faunus was king of the Aborigines, or primitive inhabitants of Latium. According to the legend most commonly received, there were four kings of this dynasty; namely, Saturnus, the founder of it, Picus, Faunus, and Latinus; but Janus is sometimes mentioned as a still more ancient king, who hospitably entertained Saturn after his flight to Italy. Both Saturnus and Janus are intimately connected, as will appear in the sequel, with the traditional or legendary history of Rome; and they are represented as established respectively on the hills known in later times as the Capitoline and the Janiculum.[1]

Saturnus also plays a great part in the mythical history of ancient Italy. According to Virgil, that country derived from him the name of Saturnia Tellus; and Latium was so called because he lay hid there from the pursuit of Jupiter, from whose attacks he had fled.[2] The name of Saturnus has been derived, regardless of prosody, *a satu*, because he first taught the Italians to live by agriculture. Hence an orderly state of society, civilization, and peace were substituted for the nomad and semi-savage way of life previously existing; the violence and disorders of which are illustrated, so far as regards the neighbourhood of Rome, by the story of Cacus, the terror of the Aventine, and by other legends. From the blessings flowing from the reign of Saturn, it was regarded as the Golden Age, and the phrase "Saturnia regna" became a synonym for human happiness. It resembled the idealized state of socialism and equality imagined by Rousseau and other enthusiasts, but unfor-

[1] Virg. *Æn.* vii. 45 sqq., viii. 319 sq.; Dion. Hal. i. 44; Macr. *Sat.* i. 7, 9.

[2] *Æn.* viii. 322; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* i. 237; Macr. *Sat.* i. 7; Varro, *L. L.* v. 42, 64.

tunately never since realized. For though Saturn had introduced agriculture, he had not sanctioned the institution of private property; the fields were tilled for the common good, and were distinguished by no boundary marks; even the houses had no doors to exclude the visits of neighbours:

> Non domus ulla fores habuit, non fixus in agris,
> Qui regeret certis finibus arva, lapis.[1]

Slavery existed not, and, as a consequence of the absence of property, a court of justice was unknown. Another result of the introduction of agriculture was wealth, which is nothing but the accumulation of stores; whence Ops, or plenty, was said to be the wife of Saturn. From all these blessings it is not surprising that Saturnus should have been deified and worshipped by the Latins, and in fact none of their deities better deserved it. The identification of Saturnus with the Greek Cronos, or Time, seems to have arisen from his being the oldest of the Latin divinities; however, his scythe, or pruning hook, might very well typify the operations of Time, as well as his own more peculiar attributes.

We will now advert to a few things in the legend of Saturn which connect him with the city of Rome.

We have already mentioned that the Capitoline Hill was originally occupied by Saturnus, whence it was called Mons Saturnius. This name it appears to have retained till the time of the Tarquins, though it also obtained in the interval the additional name of Mons Tarpeius; apparently from its having been the residence of Tarpeia's father.[2] The memory of Saturn is

[1] Tibull. *Eleg.* i. 3, 43.

[2] Propertius, iv. 4; Varro, *L. L.* v. 41 sq.; Festus, voc. *Saturnia*, p. 322; Justin. xliii. 1.

still preserved at the Capitoline by the ruined portico of his temple, which stands at its foot; one of the few ruins which have partially escaped the stroke of his own scythe. Here, in primæval times, stood an altar to him, probably on the same spot afterwards occupied by the temple. From his being considered the founder of wealth, the temple of Saturn was made the ÆRARIUM, or public treasury; though the money seems to have been actually deposited in a small adjoining ÆDES, or CELLA OPIS, dedicated to Saturn's consort, Ops.[1] Other memorials of Saturn at this spot, which have now vanished, were a SACELLUM DITIS,[2] near his altar, which, during the festival of the Saturnalia, was adorned with waxen masks; and a PORTA STERCORARIA, situated somewhere on the Clivus Capitolinus, or ascent to the Capitol. This gate led to a place where, in the middle of June every year, was deposited the night soil removed from the temple of Vesta; a practice emblematical of Saturn's having taught the use of manure, whence his epithet of Stercutus. Another object on the Capitoline, probably connected with Saturn, was the PORTA PANDANA, or ever-open gate; a memorial, perhaps, of the absence of doors in the Saturnian, or golden, Age.

Besides these material records of Saturn at Rome, we may also mention the well-known festival of the SATURNALIA, to which we shall have frequent occasion to advert in the sequel.

As Saturn was the reputed introducer of the necessary arts of life among the Aborigines, so to Evander was ascribed the introduction of those arts which contribute to polish and adorn it; as letters, musical instruments,

[1] Cic. *Phil.* i. 7, ii. 14.
[2] Macr. *Sat.* i. 7.

civil laws, and other usages which characterize a more advanced and refined society.[1]

The arrival of Hercules in Italy is placed a few years after the settlement of Evander. However fabulous may be this legend, it must find a place here. The Romans, at all events, believed it, and thus it is connected with some monuments and customs which existed at Rome. Hercules, returning from his expedition to bring the oxen of Geryones to Argos, had reached the Tiber, when Cacus, a robber who infested the Aventine Hill, stole some of his cattle, and concealed them in a cave; but the lowing of the animals betrayed the perpetrator of the theft, and Cacus fell a victim to the vengeance of the offended hero. In commemoration of this act, an altar, called the Ara Maxima, was dedicated to Hercules on the spot afterwards occupied by the Forum Boarium, between the Palatine and the Tiber. Divine rites celebrated in the Greek manner formed the worship of the demigod; and two families, the Potitii and Pinarii, were appointed to perform them, as priests of Hercules, and to transmit them unchanged to their posterity.[2] The erection of the Ara Maxima is attributed by some authors to Evander.[3] Hercules obtained the epithet of "triumphalis," and during the celebrations of triumphs at Rome, his statue was adorned with the dress worn by triumphant generals.[4] He was also worshipped under other titles, as Hercules Custos, Musagetes, &c. The celebrity of his legend, and the importance attached to his worship, are attested by the numerous temples erected in after times in his honour, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Forum Boarium.

[1] Liv. i. 7; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 14; Dionys. Hal. i. 33.
[2] Virg. *Æn.* viii. 190 sqq.; Ov. *Fast.* i. 543 sqq.; Liv. i. 7, ix. 29.
[3] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 41.
[4] Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 16.

Besides this legend respecting the advent of Hercules into Italy, there are other versions pretending to a more historical character which it is unnecessary to examine here, as they have little or no connection with the history of the city of Rome. It should, however, be mentioned that Dionysius of Halicarnassus represents Hercules as the leader of a great military expedition to Western Europe, and as dismissing in Italy a portion of his army, who took possession of Mons Saturnius.[1] If this was so, any settlement made by Saturn on that hill must then have vanished; nor could the followers of Hercules have founded there any permanent colony, since Mons Saturnius appears to have been uninhabited at the time when Rome was built. Diodorus Siculus represents Hercules as being hospitably received on the banks of the Tiber by Cacius and Pinarius, and as instituting on the Palatine certain sacred rites.[2] The memorials which he intimates to have been preserved of these events must have been the priesthood of the Pinarian family and the SCALÆ CACÎ on the Palatine.[3]

All these legends tend to show that the Romans believed the Palatine to have been occupied before the advent of Romulus, which is, indeed, most probable. The name of the hill, as already said, is thought to have had its origin during the Arcadian occupation, and all the ancient traditions derive it from a proper name, except one from *balare*, or *palare*. Some modern writers indeed refer it to Pales, the shepherd's god or goddess, whence Palatua, the proper deity of the hill;[4] but this rests apparently on no ancient authority. No doubt, however, that the earlier occupiers were shepherds, down to the time of Romulus. The current

[1] Lib. i. 34 sqq. [2] iv. 21. [3] Solinus, *Polyhistor*, i. 18.
[4] Ignazio Guidi, *Bull. Munic.* 1881.

legend of Numitor and Amulius is in accordance with this view, and a hundred times more probable than Mommsen's extravagant and totally unfounded one, that early Rome was a great commercial city. Till the occupation of it by Romulus, the Palatine seems to have been only a pasture ground, with shepherds' cottages and *ovilia*. We may believe, therefore, as Tacitus and others tell us, that Romulus first built a town there and that the substructions now to be seen on the south side of the hill are of his period.

Modern criticism has banished to the realms of fiction the legend of Æneas' settlement in Italy, and apparently with justice; yet it has become so interwoven with the history of Rome, that it must be briefly recounted here in its more popular form.

Latinus, the last of the aboriginal Latin kings already mentioned, ruled during the time of the Trojan war. When Æneas arrived in Italy, Latinus was already an old man, having reigned thirty-five years in peace and security. Æneas is said to have landed at or near Laurentum, a town which had been founded by King Latinus. Laurentum was the next coast town to Ostia, and probably occupied the site of the present hamlet of Capocotta, sixteen miles distant from Rome. But the sea has receded on this coast, and Laurentum, like Ostia, is at present about a couple of miles inland. In other respects the situation of the coast towns agrees with the description of Strabo.[1] Æneas is related to have established a camp or citadel at no great distance from Laurentum, and to have called it Troy; and we find the district alluded to by classical authors under the names of Castra Trojana and Prædium Trojanum.[2]

[1] Abeken *Mittelital.* p. 62.

[2] Cic. *Epp. ad Atticum,* ix. 13. See also Cato cited by Servius *ad*

These names at least show what an early, firm, and lasting hold the Æneas legend must have taken upon the Roman mind.

At the time when Æneas landed, King Latinus was at war with the neighbouring nation of the Rutuli; but on hearing of the invasion he marched against the Trojans. A hostile encounter was, however, averted by divine interposition, and a treaty was concluded between Latinus and Æneas, by which all the land comprised in a radius of forty stadia, or five miles, round a hill which the Trojans had occupied, was granted to them, on condition of their assisting Latinus against the Rutuli. That people was defeated by the united arms of the new allies; Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, was given to Æneas in marriage; who then built a city on the land which had been granted to him, and gave it the name of Lavinium in honour of his consort. Lavinium was seated three miles from the sea, and about the same distance from Laurentum, on the tufo hill of Pratica, where the site of the ancient town is still marked by precipitous walls.[1] Lavinium became the proper centre of the Æneas legend, the holy place of the league, and was regarded by the Romans of after times as their ancient cradle, hereditary seat, and sacred repository of their national Dii Penates, which Æneas was supposed to have brought with him from Troy.[2] At a late period of the Republic, the Roman prætors, consuls, and dictators sacrificed at Lavinium to Vesta and the Penates either when they entered upon or quitted their offices;[3] and we learn from

Virg. Æn. i. 5; cf. *ad* vii. 158, xi. 316; Liv. i. 1; Festus, p. 367; Appian, *Hist. Rom.* i. 1.

[1] Sir W. Gell, *Topography*, vol. ii. p. 80.

[2] Varro, *L. L.* v. § 144.

[3] Serv. *ad Æn.* ii. 296; Macrob. *Sat.* iii. 4.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus that in his time, that is, in the reign of the Emperor Augustus, most of the temples and other buildings reputed to have been founded there by Æneas were still extant.[1]

After these events, Turnus, a relative of the consort of Latinus, who had been a suitor for Lavinia's hand, having incited the Rutuli to rise, was defeated and killed by Æneas. King Latinus also fell in this war, when his dominions devolved to Æneas in right of his wife Lavinia; and the Aborigines and Trojans becoming amalgamated received the common name of Latins. Æneas survived only three or four years the death of his father-in-law; in the fourth he was drowned in the river Numicius, during a war with the Tuscans under their leader Mezentius. After his death he was deified under the name of Pater, or Jupiter Indiges, as King Latinus had previously become Jupiter Latiaris.[2]

Latium, the kingdom of Latinus, and afterwards of Æneas, extended along the western coast of Italy, according to Pliny, for a distance of fifty miles; a computation, however, which is said to be deficient by ten miles.[3] The inhabitants of it, before the foundation of Rome, were called *Prisci Latini*.[4] Thirty years after the death of Æneas, either his son Ascanius or Iulus, or the person who bore both these names, founded Alba Longa, on a ridge of Mons Albanus, and made it the new

[1] Lib. i. c. 64.

[2] Dionys. Hal. i. 64; Liv. i. 2; Virg. *Æn.* xii. 794, and the note of Servius; Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 581 sqq.; Festus, pp. 106, 194.

[3] Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, p. 61.

[4] "Prisci Latini proprie appellati sunt hi, qui prius quam conderetur Roma fuerunt."—Paul. Diac. p. 226. Cf. Servius *ad Æn.* v. 598. But according to Livy (i. 3) the Prisci Latini were the inhabitants of certain colonies founded by Latinus Silvius, the sixth Alban king. "Ab eo coloniæ aliquot deductæ, Prisci Latini appellati."

capital of the Latin kingdom. Different lists are given of the Latin kings, the successors of Ascanius or Iulus, who reigned at Alba Longa, the discrepancies of which it is not necessary to record or discuss. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to state that, according to the most generally received account, there were sixteen Latin kings of the line of Æneas, if we include that hero, namely: Æneas, Ascanius, Silvius Postumus, Æneas Silvius, Latinus Silvius, Alba, Epytus or Atys, Capys, Calpetus, Tiberinus, Agrippa, Aremulus or Remulus, Aventinus, Procas, Amulius, Numitor. The sum of the reigns of these kings is computed at 432 or 433 years,[1] by those authors who adopt the era of Eratosthenes, or the year 1184 B.C., as the date of the fall of Troy. It should, however, be mentioned that some writers allow only half this number of kings, and deduct a whole century from the period of their reigns; and especially that this latter computation is adopted by Virgil,[2] who assigns a term of only 300 years for the reigns of the Alban kings after the death of Ascanius.

The reigns of Amulius and Numitor, the last two kings, bring us to the well-known legend respecting the foundation of Rome, which our subject requires us briefly to recall to the memory of the reader. Amulius, younger son of Procas, having usurped the crown which rightfully belonged to Numitor, his elder brother, caused Ægestus, the son of Numitor, to be put to death, and his daughter, Rea Silvia, to become a Vestal virgin; thus obliging her, by the vow of perpetual chastity imposed upon the priestesses of Vesta, to renounce all

[1] Dionys. Hal. i. 71, ii. 2; Diodor. ap. Syncellum, t. i. p. 366 (ed. Bonn).

[2] *Æn.* i. 272 sqq.

hope of marriage, and consequently of giving a legitimate heir to the throne which Amulius had usurped. But Rea was robbed of her chastity either by a mortal lover, or by the god Mars in mortal form; and, having become pregnant, in due time gave birth to male twins, whom Amulius and his council ordered to be thrown into the river Tiber, at some distance apparently from the royal residence; while the mother was subjected to the punishment incurred by the breach of her vow. The servants of Amulius, proceeding towards the upper part of the stream, crossed the Palatine Hill, in order to carry into execution the sentence upon the children, where, finding their further progress arrested by the flooding of the river, they deposited on the water the little cradle or skiff which contained the twins, and abandoned them to their fate. The receding waters having left the infants ashore on the western declivity of the Palatine, they were there discovered by a she-wolf, who gave them suck. A woodpecker also brought them food; when certain shepherds, struck by the marvel, and inferring from it the divine origin of the children, carried them to Faustulus, a herdsman of Amulius, residing on the Palatine, who gave them to his wife, Acca Larentia, to nurse. According to some authors, Acca Larentia, from her unchaste life, was called *Lupa*, and thus is explained the fable of the wolf.

In process of time, the twins, under the names of Romulus and Remus, grew up to manhood on the Palatine, whence all trace of Evander's settlement appears to have vanished. A quarrel between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius, in consequence of which Remus was carried off to Alba Longa, induced Faustulus to explain to Romulus the story of his infancy.[1] At

[1] Another version of the legend represents Numitor as having

Alba Longa, Remus is recognized by his grandfather, Numitor, and undertakes, in conjunction with his brother Romulus, who has also an interview with Numitor, to dethrone and punish the usurper Amulius. The arrival of Faustulus at Alba Longa, at this juncture, with the cradle, or ark, in which the twins had been exposed, confirmed the truth of the recognition. By the aid of Romulus and Remus, Amulius is seized and put to death, and Numitor recovers his rightful inheritance. Romulus and Remus are soon after seized with a desire to erect a new and independent city, an enterprise in which they are joined by many of the inhabitants of Alba, especially the Trojan families; and Numitor supplies them with money, arms, provisions, and other necessaries, to carry out their design. But a dispute arises between the brothers as to the site of the new city. Romulus chooses the Palatine Hill, the scene of his marvellous escape and early education, while Remus prefers a spot called Remoria, which appears to have formed a portion of the Aventine. It having been agreed to decide the matter by augury, Remus, taking his station on the Aventine, first sees a flight of six vultures; a little after, a flight of twelve appears to Romulus;[1] a quarrel arises, whether the greater number of the birds, or the priority of their appearance, should decide the point in question, and Remus is slain in a fight which ensues. Romulus then proceeds to

substituted two other babes for the children of Rea Silvia; that the infants were put to death by Amulius, and that the genuine twins were secretly entrusted by Numitor to Faustulus for education.

[1] Superstition has connected the twelve vultures seen by Romulus with the twelve centuries during which Rome remained an independent city, viz. from B.C. 753 to A.D. 476, when she fell under a prince bearing the same name as her founder, Romulus Augustulus.

build his city, after burying Remus on the Aventine, and atoning for his death by certain expiatory rites. Such is briefly the chief and most widely accepted legend respecting the foundation of Rome; into other accounts it is not necessary to enter.[1] But it may be observed that, although these legends vary with regard to the name of the founder of Rome and the time of its foundation, yet they all point to the Palatine Hill as the original site of the city.

Tacitus, in a well-known passage, which we subjoin at the foot of the page, gives the most precise account of the foundation of Rome and the circuit of its walls. From this passage it appears that the furrow which marked the line of the pomœrium was begun to be drawn from a spot in the Forum Boarium, marked in that author's time by the bronze image of a bull, as typical of the animal which drew the plough. The line was so drawn as to include the altar of Hercules, known by the name of Ara Maxima. From this spot boundary stones were laid down at certain regular distances round the base of the Palatine. These stones ran first to the altar of Consus, from that to the Curiæ Veteres, and then to the Sacellum Larum; and the Forum and Capitol were not thought to have been added to the city till the time of Titus Tatius.[2]

[1] The legends respecting the foundation of Rome have been diligently collected by Sir G. C. Lewis, *Credibility, &c.*, vol. i. p. 394 sqq.

[2] "Sed initium condendi, et quod pomœrium Romulus posuerit, noscere haud absurdum reor. Igitur a foro Boario ubi æreum tauri simulacrum adspicimus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi cœptus, ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur. Inde certis spatiis interjecti lapides, per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox ad Curias Veteres, tum ad saccllum Larum; forumque Romanum et Capitolium non a Romulo sed a Tito Tatio additum urbi credidere."—*Ann.* xii. 24.

The furrow here mentioned does not describe the actual line of wall, but that of the *pomœrium*, or sacred space around it, which could not be built upon nor applied to profane uses. From the nature of the ground, however, the outside line of the pomœrium, marked by the *cippi*, or stones, could not have been at any great distance from the wall. It was usual also to reserve a similar vacant space within the walls. Rome was founded after the Etruscan manner, and the plough which traced the furrow, as we learn from other authors, was drawn by a cow and a bull, the bull being on the outside, the cow inside; thus typifying the future male and female inhabitants of the city, the latter of whom were to stay at home, while the men were to be the terror of external enemies.[1] At the southern extremity of the Palatine, near the Circus Maximus, remains of the wall are still extant at the foot of the hill.[2]

Before proceeding any further, we must endeavour to determine the outline and compass of the Romulean city. Topographers have, we believe, almost universally adopted the theory that Roma Quadrata, or the city of Romulus, embraced *the whole* of the hill now known as

[1] Joannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 50. The reader will find a full account of the ceremonies in the article *Roma*, Smith's *Dict. of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii. p. 726.

We may here mention Bunsen's opinion (*Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, B. i. p. 138) that Tacitus left off the description of the line of the pomœrium at the Forum, without carrying it round to the starting place, because no wall was needed on this side, the city being protected here by a marsh. But we know that the Porta Romanula was situated in this interval; and if there was a gate, there must have been a wall.

[2] Ampère (*Hist. Rom. à Rome*, t. i. p. 282) observes that the site of the Porta Romanula, infimo Clivo Victoriæ, shows that the wall was at the foot of the hill.

the Palatine; and the author of the present work followed the same view in an article on Rome which he wrote for Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Ancient Geography*. But since that article was written, extensive excavations have been made upon the Palatine by order of the Emperor Napoleon III., who purchased from the ex-King of Naples that portion of it which comprises the Farnese gardens. Commendatore Rosa, the learned and able superintendent of these excavations, whose urbanity and kindness the author gladly takes this opportunity to acknowledge, has thus been enabled to make several important discoveries, not only with regard to the palace of the Cæsars, but also the ancient city of Romulus, which have led him to an entirely new theory respecting Roma Quadrata. The author must confess that he finds a great deal of probability in this theory, as obligingly explained to him by Signor Rosa in several interviews during a residence at Rome in the winter of 1864-5. It is also published in a paper in the *Bulletino dell' Instituto Archeologico* for the year 1862.

The most important result of these excavations, with regard to the topography of the Palatine Hill, is the discovery of an intermontium, or depression, traversing the hill from north to south, and dividing it, like the Capitoline, though not so strikingly, into two distinct heights. The eastern height embraces that portion of the hill which contains the Villa Mills, now a convent, and the Convent of S. Bonaventura, while the western is occupied by the Farnese gardens, the place of the excavations. From this division, or intermontium, Signor Rosa has been led to assign the name of Velia to the eastern height, and that of Germalus to the western, and to conclude that the city of Romulus occupied only this latter portion of the hill. It must be confessed that

this theory seems to agree better with the notices which we find in ancient authors respecting the Romulean city than that hitherto received, which makes it occupy the whole hill; and we will here briefly state the reasons for this conclusion. Some of these are taken from Commendatore Rosa's paper before referred to, and some the author has himself ventured to supply.

First, then, let us take the account of Tacitus already given. If, as is commonly supposed, the Romulean city embraced the whole of the Palatine Hill, it is surprising that Tacitus should have defined such extensive limits by mentioning so few objects. The situation of most of the boundaries which he does mention is known with tolerable certainty. There can be no dispute about the site of the Forum Boarium. The Ara Consi, as I have shown in the article *Roma*, must have stood near the centre of the Circus Maximus, where Signor Rosa places it. The situation of the Curiæ Veteres, the next object named by Tacitus, has never been satisfactorily ascertained. Signor Rosa places it a little beyond the Ara Consi, about the middle of the south side of the hill, and at the corner of the newly-discovered depression, thus making it the turning-point of the Romulean wall on the south-east. Concerning the site of the Sacellum Larum, which Tacitus next mentions, little difference of opinion can be entertained. It stood on the Summa Sacra Via, near the existing Arch of Titus, and marked another angle of the walls; whence they must have proceeded onwards to the Forum, and thence to the starting-point in the Forum Boarium, though Tacitus leaves this part of the circuit undefined.

Let us now observe that the fewness, as well as the situation, of the objects named by Tacitus, render it highly probable that the Romulean city was confined, as

Commendatore Rosa thinks, to the western half of the Palatine, or, as he calls it, the Germalus. For we may remark that *all* the objects mentioned by the historian whose site is *certainly known* lay on this portion of the hill; and that the only one whose site is *not certainly known*, the Curiæ Veteres, could possibly have lain on the other portion, or the Velia. Is it then probable, if the Romulean city covered the whole hill, that Tacitus should have defined the boundaries of one half of it by naming four objects, and those of the other and larger half by naming only one, the Curiæ Veteres? That is, of course, conceding that this object lay on the Velia, a thing wholly uncertain, and quite incapable of proof.

By the new boundaries thus laid down, the Romulean city still forms a Roma Quadrata, though of a somewhat oblong shape, instead of the lozenge described by the whole hill. Its dimensions, too, are reduced by one-half: a circumstance, however, which, so far from being an objection to Rosa's views, serves strongly to confirm them. Most of those primæval cities are known to have been of very small dimensions—in fact, mere *arces*, or citadels, rather than cities in the proper sense of the term.

That the Romulean city occupied only the western half of the Palatine Hill is also very strongly confirmed by a passage of Solinus, who, speaking of Roma Quadrata, observes that it began at a wood in the Area of Apollo, and terminated at the top of the Scalæ Caci, where was the cottage of Faustulus.[1] The Area Apollinis, with its wood or grove, must have formed part of the precincts of the temple which Augustus erected on

[1] "Ea incipit a sylva quæ est in area Apollinis, et ad supercilium scalarum Caci habet terminum, ubi tugurium fuit Faustuli."—Cap. i. § 18.

the Palatine to that deity, and in all probability occupied the site on which now stands the convent of S. Bonaventura, extending also probably to the north of that convent. This, then, would give us the eastern boundary of the Romulean city.

It may be further remarked that all the objects connected with the story of Romulus, as well as the ancient traditions respecting the Palatine, belong to this western side of the Palatine: as the Tugurium Faustuli or Casa Romuli, the Scalæ Cacî, the Lupercal, the Porta Romanula, &c. Not a single object of this kind can be referred to the eastern portion of the hill: another confirmation of Rosa's theory. Neither can we place any gate there. The two *known* gates of the Romulean city, the Porta Romanula and Porta Mugionis, stood on the western division of the hill. There was probably a third gate towards the Circus Maximus. Its site is not ascertained, but the only probable one is at the Scalæ Cacî, at the south-western extremity of the hill. Rosa's discovery of the Porta Vetus Palatii, which was identical with the Porta Mugionis, affords another argument in support of his theory. From the situation of this gate and the direction of the ancient pavement, it is plain that there could have been no entrance this way to the eastern portion of the hill, but only to the western. The position of the gate indicates, moreover, a line of wall intersecting the hill nearly in its centre, and along the intermontium, or depression, to which we have already alluded.

Thus far Commendatore Rosa's scheme seems probable enough. He may also be correct in assigning the name of Velia to the eastern half of the Palatine Hill. But when he calls the whole of the western half Germalus, we must confess our inability to follow him. It

is evident that the component parts of what is now called the Palatine Hill had originally three names, Palatium, Velia, and Germalus or Cermalus, which are mentioned separately by Antistius Labeo[1] in enumerating the heights which formed the primitive Septimontium. Again, we learn from Varro that the Velia and Germalus were *annexed* to the Palatine;[2] after which the three heights came to be regarded as one hill, under the denomination of the Palatine; and the hill, thus regarded as a whole, formed ultimately only one of the seven hills of Rome. A similar process took place with regard to the Esquiline, where the two distinct projections or tongues, called Oppius and Cispius, were at length confounded in the common appellation of Mons Esquilinus. If, then, Velia was the name of the eastern half of what in later times was called Mons Palatinus, and Germalus of the western half, where are we to place the original hill called Palatium? It seems more probable that this last name belonged at first to the greater portion of the western division of the hill; and that Germalus, a name said by Varro[3] to be derived from the *germani*, or twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, who came ashore there, belonged only to that part of this division more especially consecrated by this legend—that portion, namely, towards the Forum Boarium, where the Tugurium Faustuli and other monuments of Romulus existed.

The discovery of the Vetus Porta Palatii, or Porta Mugionis, identified by the ancient pavement, is most important, as it serves to fix the site of other monuments known to have stood in its vicinity. It is not far from

[1] In Festus, p. 348 (Müll.).

[2] "Huic (Palatio) Cermalum et Velias conjunxerunt."—*L. L.* v. § 54 (Müll.).

[3] *Loc. cit.*

the spot commonly assigned to it by topographers, but somewhat higher up on the eastern front of the Romulean enclosure, as laid down by Rosa. It was entered from the Summa Nova Via, as shown in his plan of the excavations recently published:[1] but the Nova Via could hardly have run into the Sacra Via, as it is made to do in that plan. It must rather have proceeded from the Porta Mugionis close under the northern side of the Palatine and skirted that hill onwards to the Velabrum: as is evident from various passages in ancient authors already cited in my article *Roma*.

It follows, from what has been stated, that the name of Velia, given by the German school of topographers to the ridge which now separates the valleys of the Forum and Colosseum, is incorrect. This view, which was first adopted by Niebuhr, cannot be established on any good authority; and, if Rosa be correct, the ridge in question is no natural hill at all, but made ground, formed, probably, by excavating the lake for the garden of Nero's Golden House, at the spot now occupied by the Colosseum (See sect. iv.). The Palatine, however, must have thrown out a spur, or projection, to the north, where the Arch of Titus now spans the Summa Sacra Via.

Roma Quadrata, as we have said, had two known gates, which, indeed, are now laid open by the excavations, namely, the Porta Mugionis near its north-eastern, and the Porta Romanula near its north-western, extremity, at the bottom of the Clivus Victoriæ. Topographers are at a loss to determine the site of a third gate, and Commendatore Rosa is even of opinion that there was none. But ancient cities had generally three gates, and the most probable place for a third is, as M. Ampère

[1] See the plan in this volume.

observes,[1] where there was a descent by means of steps towards the Circus Maximus, at a place called by Plutarch Καλὴ Ἀκτή; which can be no other than the Scalæ Caci.[2]

The most commonly received date for the foundation of Rome is that of Varro, who assigns it to a year equivalent to B.C. 753. Troy, according to the era of Eratosthenes, was taken in the year B.C. 1184; and, allowing 432 years for the reigns of the Alban kings, we approximate very closely to this date. There is, however, some difference on this point among Roman authorities; Cato placing the foundation two years later, or in B.C. 751, Fabius Pictor in B.C. 747, and Cincius so low as B.C. 728. According to the legend which ascribed the foundation of Rome to the Aberrigines, that people gave the name of *Valentia* to their settlement on the Palatine, which was translated into *Rome* (ῥώμη, *strength*) when Evander, accompanied by many Greeks, came to Italy.[3] However that may be, Valentia remained the secret and mysterious name of Rome, which was forbidden to be pronounced, lest, by so doing, the Penates might be conjured from the city. Hence is traced the worship of Angerona at Rome, the goddess of silence, whose statue, with her finger on her lips, stood in the little temple, or chapel, of Volupia, near the Forum.[4]

[1] *Hist. Rom. à Rome*, t. i. p. 292.

[2] Plut. *Rom.* 20. The name of *cale acte*, which has puzzled topographers, perhaps arose from a conversion of the Latin name, Scalæ Caci, into Greek. The first word wants nothing but a sigma, and the second has two letters of Caci. Greek transcribers would naturally blunder in such words, and turn them into something with a meaning in their own language.

[3] Festus in *Romam*, p. 266: Solinus, c. i. § 1.

[4] Plin. *H. N.* iii. 9, 12; Macr. *Sat.* i. 10, iii. 9; Varro, *L. L.* vi. § 23 (Müll.); Serv. *ad Æn.* i. 277.

All the ancient monuments on the Palatine, connected with the Romulean or præ-Romulean times, were, as we have said, on the western side of the hill, and apparently on that part of it called the Germalus. The LUPERCAL, a grotto consecrated by the Arcadian colonists to Pan, lay under a shady cliff, "gelida sub rupe," and, according to Dionysius, on the road leading to the Circus; according to Servius, in the Circus: it, therefore, probably stood near the south-western angle of the hill.[1] Near it was the sacred fig-tree, or FICUS RUMINALIS, under which Romulus and Remus were suckled by the she-wolf, and the TUGURIUM FAUSTULI, called also CASA ROMULI, where they were brought up. The SCALÆ CACÎ were also in this neighbourhood, apparently near the modern church of Sta. Anastasia: and were perhaps, as we have already intimated, identical with the Καλὴ Ἀκτή; as steps are mentioned in connection with the latter, which led down towards the Circus Maximus.[2] According to Vitruvius,[3] there was also a Casa Romuli on the Capitol; but this must have been built long afterwards, in commemoration of that upon the Palatine. Ovid also alludes to a small cottage of Romulus extant in his time:

> Quæ fuerit nostri si quæris regia nati,
> Adspice de canna straminibusque domum.[4]

But there is nothing to show whether it stood on the Palatine or the Capitoline, and it might possibly have been removed to the Capitoline in the later times of Rome.

The first memorable incident in the history of the small city founded by Romulus was his care to increase

[1] Virg. *Æn.* viii. 343; Dionys. Hal. i. 32, 79; Serv. *ad Æn.* viii. 90.

[2] Plut. *loc. cit.* [3] Lib. ii. 1, § 5. [4] *Fasti*, iii. 183, sq.

its population by opening an asylum for fugitive slaves and others on the Capitoline Hill, then called Mons Saturnius; and probably on that side of it which faced the east, and subsequent Forum.[1] Romulus, then, must have taken possession of Mons Saturnius; and though he does not appear to have enclosed it with a wall, like the Palatine, yet he must have erected some sort of fortification for its defence; since, in his war with Titus Tatius and the Sabines, as we shall see further on, this hill was the chief point of attack, and appears to have had a gate. It seems probable, therefore, that Romulus, as Dionysius informs us,[2] had surrounded both this hill and the Aventine with a ditch and palisade, by way of protection for herdsmen and their cattle. The method of opening an asylum supplied, however, only a male population; to provide them with wives, Romulus sent ambassadors to the neighbouring nations, to solicit alliance and intermarriage for his subjects. But the rising power of Rome was already regarded with jealousy. The proposals of Romulus were everywhere rejected, and frequently with insult: he was advised to open an asylum for women also: by such a method would he procure wives who would be a proper match for his own people. Thus foiled, the Roman king resolved to obtain by stratagem and force what he had failed to procure by friendly solicitations. He prepared some splendid games, called *Consualia*, in honour of the god Consus, or the equestrian Neptune,[3] which were to

[1] Liv. i. 8, ii. 1; Dion. Hal. ii. 15; Plut. *Rom.* 9; &c.

[2] Lib. ii. c. 37.

[3] The Consualia, however, according to a Saturnian verse preserved by Varro, *De Vita Pop. Rom.*, as quoted by Nonius Marcellus, p. 13 (ed. Basle, 1842), appear to have been rustic games, consisting of running or jumping on oiled hides:

Sibi pastores ludos faciunt eoriis *consualia*.

be celebrated in the Vallis Murcia, the valley dividing the Palatine from the Aventine; and when everything was prepared he invited the neighbouring peoples to the spectacle. Thither flocked the Cæninenses, the Crustumini, and the Antemnates; but especially the Sabines, whose territory adjoined that of the Romans, a circumstance which enabled them to bring their wives and children in great numbers. The guests were received with a treacherous semblance of hospitality; but, while all were intent upon the games, the Roman youths, at a given signal, rushed forth and seized the unmarried women, and their affrighted parents fled, invoking the gods to avenge so gross a violation of the laws of hospitality.

By this act the Sabines had been chiefly injured; and as their king Titus Tatius who resided at Cures, was the most powerful in those parts, he was solicited by the other nations to join with them in avenging the common injury. But, Tatius delaying to act till he had secretly made complete preparation, the impatient Cæninenses invaded alone the Roman territory, when their weak and disorderly forces were easily defeated. Romulus killed and despoiled with his own hands their king Acron, and took possession of their capital. This deed of the Roman king is famous both as being the first capture of *spolia opima*, of which, in the whole course of Roman history, we find only two other instances; and, what is more to our present purpose, as having occasioned, according to Livy,[1] the consecration

They are thus explained by Varro: "Etiam pelles bubulas oleo perfusas percurrebant, ibique cernuabant." Ennius speaks of the institution of such games by Romulus at the dedication of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius (ap. Serv. *Georg.* ii. 384).

[1] Lib. i. c. 10.

of the first Roman temple : that is, we may presume, with the exception of those which, in a city founded with Etruscan rites, must have been erected to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva within the walls of Roma Quadrata.[1] For Romulus, bearing the spoils of the vanquished king on a frame adapted to the purpose, deposited them on the Capitoline Hill at an oak regarded as sacred by the shepherds, vowing at the same time to erect there a temple to Jupiter, with the surname of *Feretrius*, in which in future times similar *opima spolia* should be deposited.[2]

Romulus overcame with similar ease the Antemnates and the Crustumini, and converted their cities into Roman colonies. His victory over the Antemnates was celebrated by the institution of the Roman triumph. But meanwhile the Sabines had prepared a more formidable attack. Having elected Tatius for their commander-in-chief, they marched upon Rome, and obtained by stratagem possession of Mons Saturnius, or the Capitoline Hill. This brings us to the legend of Tarpeia, of which there are several versions. According to that most commonly received, Tarpeia agreed to open the gate of the Capitol to the Sabines, on condition of receiving what they bore on their left arms, meaning their golden bracelets ; but the Sabines, availing themselves of a subterfuge, after entering the gate, overwhelmed and slew the traitress with their shields. Another version represents Tarpeia as wishing to deceive the Sabines and really bargaining for their shields, when, her intention having been betrayed to Tatius, he caused her to be killed.[3] Propertius describes Tarpeia as having stipu-

[1] Servius *ad Æn.* i. 422. [2] Liv. i. 10 ; Dionys. Hal. ii. 33 sq.

[3] Dionys. Hal. ii. 38—40 ; Liv. i. 11 ; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 261 ; Varro, *L. L.* v. 41.

lated for the hand of Tatius as the reward of her treachery, when the Sabine monarch, instead of consummating the marriage, put her to death.[1] The same author relates that the Capitoline Hill obtained after this event the name of Mons Tarpeius, from Tarpeius, the father of Tarpeia, who was commander of the garrison upon it at the time of the Sabine attack;[2] but, according to a more common opinion, it was so called from Tarpeia having been buried there. However this may be, some portion of it continued afterwards to bear the name of *Rupes Tarpeia*.

The possession of Mons Saturnius had given the Sabines a strong position; but their strife with the Romans was still to be decided by battle. Many engagements took place between the hostile armies in the valley between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, afterwards occupied by the Roman Forum. This district could not therefore have been entirely a swamp, though it may have been often overflowed by the Tiber, and appears even at that time to have contained a pond, or marsh, which from Mettus Curtius, a Roman combatant, who plunged into it, obtained the name of *Lacus Curtius*. The origin of this appellation, however, is also referred to the deed of M. Curtius, a Roman, who nearly four centuries later (B.C. 362) leaped all armed with his horse into a chasm in the Forum, or to its being a *locus fulguritus*, enclosed by a consul named Curtius.[3] We may remark here that the circumstance of two hostile armies being engaged in such a valley as this, shows that the forces on both sides must have been very small, and thus

[1] Lib. v. (iv.) *Eleg.* 4.

[2] Lib. v. *Eleg.* 4, vers. 93; cf. Liv. *loc. cit.*

[3] Liv. i. 13, vii. 6; Dion. Hal. ii. 42, xiv. 20 sq.; Varro, *L. L.* v. 148—150.

confirms the account of the fewness of Romulus' followers. These battles between the Romans and Sabines were signalized by the foundation of the Temple of JUPITER STATOR. Romulus, stationed on the high ground near the old gate of the Palatine city (Porta Mugionis), and consequently not far from the spot now occupied by the Arch of Titus, vowed to erect there a temple to Jupiter "Stator," if he would arrest the flight of the retreating Romans. The vow was heard, and the temple in consequence founded.[1]

The struggle between the Sabines and the Romans still remained undecided, though the latter seemed to be gaining the superiority, when the interposition of the Sabine women put an end to the strife. They are said by some authors to have thrown themselves between the combatants, imploring on one side their fathers and brothers, on the other their husbands, to cease their strife; while other authorities represent them as proceeding to the Sabine camp to solicit peace. But, in whatever way effected, a treaty was made between the two nations, by which it was agreed that Romulus and Tatius should rule jointly, and with equal authority, over the Roman people; that the Sabines should be incorporated into the Roman tribes and *curiæ;* and that the united people, though individually retaining the name of Romans, should in their aggregate capacity, and in honour of the Sabines, be addressed as *Quirites*, the name of the inhabitants of Cures.[2] The treaty, according to some authorities,[3] was concluded on the Sacra Via, which thence derived its name. It is not

[1] Dionys. Hal. ii. 50; Liv. i. 12.

[2] Another etymology derives the word from *quiris*, the Sabine name for a spear. Ov. *Fast.* ii. 475.

[3] Dionys. ii. 46; Festus, p. 290.

probable, however, that the road was then in existence; and at all events its name began at a later period either from the sacred buildings which stood upon it or the holy processions which traversed it. Equally unfounded is the opinion of Plutarch, that the Comitium was so called from the hostile generals having met at that spot to arrange the peace.

The importance of the Sabine element at Rome has not perhaps been sufficiently considered. The late M. Ampère has discussed the subject with great learning and ability in his interesting work, *L'Histoire Romaine à Rome*.[1] He remarks that not only did the Romans borrow from the Sabines almost all their religious and much of their political and social organization, their customs, ceremonies, arms, &c., but also that the far greater part of the primitive population of Rome was Sabine, that most of the men who have played a part in Roman history were of Sabine extraction, and that what is called the Latin tongue contains a strong infusion of Sabine elements.[2] The truth of these remarks will be apparent when we reflect that a considerable part of the Roman population must have been of Sabine blood by their mothers, and that the followers of Tatius who settled on the Quirinal and adjacent hills were perhaps at least equal in number to the Romans. But when M. Ampère goes on to argue, as Schwegler and Ihne have also done, that the Romans were in fact a conquered people, who existed only by the sufferance of the Sabines, we must confess our inability to follow him. In proof of his assertion he adduces the many Sabine names of temples and other objects which existed not only in the quarter of the city assigned to that people, but also on

[1] See especially t. i. ch. xii. and xiii.

[2] See t. i. p. 446.

the Aventine and round the Palatine itself; whence he infers that these places were held by the Sabines as independent, and even hostile, possessions. But, allowing all these names to have been Sabine, the influence of that people, who formed so large a part of the population, even peacefully exerted, may serve to account for these names. M. Ampère also draws an argument to the same effect from the circumstance of the *collective* population receiving the Sabine name of Quirites, quoting with approbation a remark of Servius: "Novimus quod victi victorum nomen accipiunt;" and adducing the example of the Britons who obtained the names of Saxons and Angles, of the Gauls who were called French, of the Italians who were called Lombards, &c.[1] The remark, however, holds good only in certain cases. The Gauls, when conquered by Cæsar, were not called Romans; nor were the English called Normans after the Norman conquest; nor did the Irish become English after their subjugation by Henry II. It is only when the conquerors come in such overwhelming numbers as almost entirely to drive out and supplant the original inhabitants that a change of name occurs; and then not only of the occupiers of the country, but also of the country itself. Thus, after the Anglo-Saxon conquest, Britain became England; after the Frankish conquest, Gaul became France, after the Lombard conquest, the north of Italy became Lombardy. But no such thing occurred at Rome. This, therefore, is a strong confirmation of the truth of the account handed down to us by ancient authors, that the privileges, as well as the name, which the Sabines obtained were derived from treaty and agreement; and the proof is still clearer from the facts that not only did the original

[1] *Ibid.* p. 442.

Romulean city continue to be entitled Roma, but that this name was also extended to those quarters of the city more exclusively occupied by the Sabines, and that each *individual* citizen was called a Roman. But to return from this digression.

The settlement of the Sabines is of course a most important event in the history of the city. They occupied Mons Saturnius and the adjoining Quirinal, anciently called Agonus, which were assigned to them for their abode. We must recollect that these hills were not then separated, as they are now, by the valley occupied by the Forum and Basilica of Trajan, but were connected by a sort of isthmus, or tongue, extending from the Height of Araceli to that of Magnanapoli. The Romans now possessed the Cælian Hill as well as the Palatine. That hill, originally called Querquetulanus, was assigned by Romulus to Cælius Vibennus, an Etrusean chief who had assisted him against the Sabines, and hence obtained the name of MONS CÆLIUS. By some writers the Etruscan leader is called Lucumo; but this perhaps is only an Etruscan name for a chief or prince.[1] The Etruscan settlement on the Cælian is placed by some authors in the time of Tullus Hostilius, of Ancus Marcius, and even of Tarquinius Priscus. But authority preponderates in favour of the first statement; and if it be correct, we already find, in the reign of Romulus, three distinct races settled at Rome; and of these the Roman race appears to have been far from enjoying the preponderance, to judge from the fact that, of the six subsequent kings of Rome, only one, Tullus Hostilius, was of Roman descent, and that the rest were either Sabines

[1] Dionys. H. ii. 37, 42 sq.; Cic. *Rep.* ii. 8; Varro, *L. L.* v. 46. Propertius calls the Etruscan Lucmo and Lucomedius. *Eleg.* iv. 1, 29, and 2, 51.

or Etruscans. The original Etruscan settlement on the Cælian was not, however, altogether a permanent one. A portion of the new colonists having incurred the suspicion of the Romans, they were compelled to leave the hill and take up their abode between the Capitoline and the Palatine, a spot commanded by both those hills, which derived from its new inhabitants the name of VICUS TUSCUS. The remainder of the Etruscans were removed to a hill called Cæliolus, which appears to have been a portion or branch of the Cælian.[1]

Thus the Romans of the Palatine city and the Sabines dwelling on the Capitoline and Quirinal, formed two distinct yet allied and friendly cities, governed respectively by Romulus and Tatius. The former of those kings continued to reside on the Palatine near the Scalæ Caci and descent towards the VALLIS MURCIA, not far from the modern church of Sta. Anastasia; while Tatius is supposed to have lived on that southern part of Mons Saturnius subsequently occupied by the Ædes Monetæ.[2] The gate forming the entrance to the Sabine city, the same which had been betrayed to their army by Tarpeia, lay on the north-east side of the Capitoline Hill, a little to the north of the Arch of Septimius Severus. Afterwards, in the reign of Numa, when the Roman and Sabine cities were amalgamated into one, and consequently the gate had become useless, its site was occupied by the TEMPLE OF JANUS, the celebrated index of peace and war.[3] The space under the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 65. Sometimes, however, the name is referred to the Tuscans who took refuge at Rome after the defeat of Aruns at Aricia (Liv. ii. 14; Dionys. v. 36); whilst some writers think that it arose from the Tuscan labourers employed in building the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus having lived there.

[2] Plut. *Rom.* 20.

[3] See Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 255 sqq.

eastern side of the Capitoline, which afterwards became the Roman Forum, served as a common place of meeting to the inhabitants of both cities, the swampy parts having been filled up with earth; while business of state between the two kings and their senates was transacted on a more elevated spot called the VULCANAL,[1] which lay above the north-western corner of the Forum, and close to the gate, or Janus, of the Sabine city already described. Romulus had consecrated this area to Vulcan, and had erected upon it an altar to that deity; whose place of worship, as in this instance, was allowed to be established only outside the city boundaries.[2] It seems probable that the Vulcanal owed its name to some volcanic agency which had manifested itself at this spot; since Ovid, in his version of the legend of Tarpeia already quoted, introduces Janus describing how he repulsed the Sabines by ejaculating upon them streams of hot sulphureous water:

> Oraque, qua pollens ope sum, fontana reclusi,
> Sumque repentinas ejaculatus aquas.
> Ante tamen calidis subjeci sulphura venis,
> Clauderet ut Tatio fervidus humor iter.[3]

From the Sabines, as we have observed, were derived a great part of the Roman superstitions and religious observances. Tatius is said to have dedicated many temples to the gods, and especially to SEMO SANCUS, or DIUS FIDIUS, an ancient Sabine deity, whose name of Dius signified his love of the open air; whence his temple had a perforated roof.[4] It probably stood at or

[1] Dionys. ii. 50. [2] Plut. *Q. Rom.* 44; Vitruvius, i. 7.

[3] *Fasti*, i. 269 sqq. So also Varro: "Ad Janum geminum aquæ caldæ fuerunt."—*De L. L.* v. 156.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 213 sqq.; Propert, v. 9, 74; Varro, *L. L.* v. § 66.

near the present Palazzo Quirinale. Also to Flora, Dijovis, Summanus, the god of nocturnal lightnings,[1] Larunda, Vortumnus, Mars, Sol, Luna, &c ;[2] but most of these were probably only open spaces with altars, like the Vulcanal, and we must recollect that temples had no images before A.U.C. 170.[3] They may probably have been introduced by the Etruscan kings.

The joint dominion of Romulus and Tatius had lasted in harmony five years when the Sabine king was killed by some of the inhabitants of Lavinium whom he had offended.[4] Romulus caused him to be interred upon the Aventine at a spot which, according to Plutarch, was called *Armilustrium*.[5] Varro, however, represents Tatius as having been killed by the inhabitants of Laurentum, and calls the name of his burial-place on the Aventine *Lauretum*, either from his murderers, or because there was a laurel grove at that spot.[6] The sole government now devolved to Romulus, and the Sabine and Roman cities became henceforth united under one monarch. Under the vigorous administration of Romulus, the city grew apace. He subdued Fidenæ and made it a Roman colony ; and when the Veientines took up arms against him on this account, he overthrew them in a great battle, so that they were glad to purchase peace by ceding to him a district close to the Tiber called *Septem Pagi* and some salt-works at the mouth of that river. The situation of the district called Septem Pagi is not ascertained ; but it probably comprehended the Mons Vaticanus and the

[1] Festus, p. 229.
[2] See Varro, *L. L.* v. § 74.
[3] Plut. *Numa*, 8.
[4] Liv. i. 14 ; Dionys. ii. 51 sq.
[5] *Rom.* 23.
[6] "In eo (Aventino) Lauretum, ab eo, quod ibi sepultus est Tatius rex, qui ab Laurentibus interfectus est ; vel ab silva laurea, quod ea ibi excisa est ædificatus vicus."—*L. L.* v. 152.

Janiculum.[1] We know of no other war to which the acquisition of these tracts by Rome can with probability be referred; and since the Janiculum was fortified by Ancus Marcius, as we shall see further on, it must have been in the possession of the Romans in the reign of that king. A truce of a hundred years was now made between Veii and Rome, and the conditions of it were engraved upon a brazen column.[2] Romulus is also said by some writers to have reduced Cameria to subjection; but the capture of that city is placed by Livy in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus.[3] In the midst, however, of these splendid successes, Romulus died after a reign of thirty-seven years. He is related to have vanished during a supernatural darkness, or eclipse, and to have been carried up to heaven in the chariot of his father Mars; whilst a more rational account represents him as having been murdered by the senators for his tyranny, and his body secretly disposed of, so that it was never seen more.[4] Romulus is supposed to have disappeared at a place in the Campus Martius called Palus Capreæ, or Capræ, which became a *locus religiosus*. It lay probably somewhere under the Quirinal.[5]

Romulus having left no heir to his crown, an interregnum ensued which lasted a year, when Numa Pompilius, a Sabine of Cures, was elected king. His election is said to have been effected by a compromise between the Roman and Sabine inhabitants of the city: the old Roman senators being the electors, while the person elected was to be of the Sabine race: a circumstance

[1] Cf. Nibby, *D' Intorni*, vol. iii. p. 388.

[2] Dionys. Hal. ii. 50-55; Liv. i. 15; Plut. *Rom.* 25. [3] i. 38.

[4] *Ibid.* i. 16; Dionys. ii. 56; Cic. *Rep.* i. 16, ii. 10; Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 485 sqq.; Plut. *Rom.* 26-28.

[5] Liv. i. 16; Ov. *Fast.* ii. 489.

which shows the power and consideration enjoyed by that people. As Romulus extended the dominion of Rome without, so the reign of Numa was devoted to consolidate the city within, and to civilize and improve the people by laws and religious institutions, and by all the customs and conveniences of domestic life. Hence his peaceful reign becomes highly important for the history of the city. It was his especial care to bring about a complete union between the Roman and Sabine inhabitants; and as a pledge of this union he instituted a festival in honour of Mars.[1] His choice of a residence seems to testify his desire to conciliate the two elements of the Roman population, and to fuse them into a whole, as well as to display the importance which he attached to the observances of religion. Hence he fixed his dwelling neither in the Sabine nor the Roman city, but between both, at the south-eastern corner of the neutral ground or Forum, near the modern church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice. Although called a REGIA, or palace, it appears to have been a building of the most humble pretensions—in fact, a sort of adjunct to the TEMPLE OF VESTA which he had erected close to it; and hence we also find it called by the more humble names of ATRIUM REGIUM and ATRIUM VESTÆ. The erection of the Temple of Vesta at this spot was perhaps also done with the view of fusing and harmonizing the Sabine and Roman population. For we must recollect that as in a Roman family the hearth was its proper centre and bond of union, so the Temple of Vesta was the public hearth of the city, in which was preserved in ever-living brightness the eternal fire, together with the Palladium, which Æneas was believed to have brought with him from Troy; for whose perpetual custody Numa appointed

[1] Festus, p. 372 (Müll.).

four Vestal virgins. But though the ÆDES VESTÆ was in ordinary language called a temple, and is mentioned by that name by Horace [1] and Ovid,[2] yet we must recollect that it was no *templum* in the proper sense of the term, but merely an *ædes sacra;* because, being the abode of the Vestal virgins, it had never been inaugurated, in order that the senate might not be able to assemble in it.[3] The recent excavations in the Forum have brought its substructions to light. It was of a circular form with a *tholus* or dome; and behind it, stretching towards the Palatine Hill, lay a sacred grove. It was probably along with these buildings that the SACRA VIA came into existence, or at all events, if it existed before, that it obtained its name of *Sacra;* an appellation, however, which in the earlier times, and among laymen even in the later, was applied only to that part of the road forming the ascent from the Forum and Regia to the SUMMA SACRA VIA, or eminence on which the Arch of Titus now stands, and where in ancient times was the dwelling of the Rex Sacrificulus. Hence in the poets we sometimes find it called Sacer *Clivus.*[4] The Regia became in after times the residence of the Pontifex Maximus; and thus this portion of the Sacra Via, or Clivus, was bounded by the houses of two of the chiefs of the Roman hierarchy.

The other foundations of Numa were impartially distributed in the Roman and Sabine cities. Thus he established on the Palatine the CURIA SALIORUM, where the sacred ancilia and lituus Romuli were preserved in the custody of twelve patricians chosen for that purpose.

[1] *Od.* i. 2, 16. [2] *Fast.* vi. 297.

[3] Serv. *ad. Æn.* vii. 153.

[4] See the art. *Roma*, in Smith's *Dictionary of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii. p. 774.

On the other hand, we find him erecting on the Quirinal a TEMPLE OF ROMULUS after the apotheosis of that monarch, and under the name of QUIRINUS,[1] thus prosecuting his design of uniting the two peoples by making the Roman king an inhabitant, as it were, and Deus Indiges of the Sabine city, as well as by conferring upon him a Sabine name. This temple, which is supposed to have stood near the present churches of S. Vitale and S. Andrea del Noviziato, was preserved by the piety of succeeding generations, and ultimately rebuilt by Augustus. Numa had another residence upon the Quirinal,[2] and he also founded on that hill an Arx, or citadel, which probably stood on the present height of Magnanapoli, over against Ara Celi, the future seat of the Roman Capitol. After the foundation of the latter, Numa's Arx obtained the name of CAPITOLIUM VETUS. It had, as usual with the Latin cities of those times, a TEMPLE OF JUPITER, with cells of JUNO and MINERVA under the same roof.[3] Those three divinities were supposed to have the special protection of the city, and therefore their joint temple, like the Capitoline temple afterwards, was to be on a spot whence they could behold the greater part of the walls.[4] It appears from the *Notitia* that the temple on the Vetus Capitolium, as well as the Temple of Quirinus, was extant in the fifth century.

We have already mentioned that Numa converted the gate which formed the entrance to the Sabine city on Mons Saturnius into a TEMPLE OF JANUS: and we find in this act another proof of his desire to abolish all distinctions between the two cities. He could not more

[1] Dionys. ii. 63; Ov. *Fasti*, ii. 509.
[2] Plut. *Num.* 14; Solin. i. 21.
[3] Varro, *L. L.* v. § 158.
[4] Vitruv. i. c. 7.

effectually attain this end than by removing the barrier which separated them, and enabled the Sabines to lock out the Romans. Thus we see in all his proceedings an undesigned coincidence with the views attributed to him of fusing and amalgamating the Sabine and Roman population. He could not have pursued them more effectually or consistently than by the buildings which he founded and the alterations which he made.

Another proof of the same purpose may perhaps be sought in Numa's establishment of districts, or parishes, by means of what are called the ARGIVE CHAPELS.[1] These districts, as we have endeavoured to show in another place,[2] embraced indiscriminately the Roman and Sabine cities; namely, the Cælian and Esquiline hills, and the valley between them, as well as the Quirinal, Viminal, and Palatine. We may remark that the Aventine and Capitoline hills do not appear to have been included in this distribution; an omission which, as I am now inclined to think, may perhaps be accounted for by their comparative want of population. We know, at all events, that the Aventine was not inhabited in Numa's time;[3] and that the Capitoline was regarded by the Sabines rather as a military post than a dwelling-place, may be inferred from the fact that Numa's foundations were not in general made on that hill, but on the Quirinal, whence they extended eastwards to the Esquiline, as we perceive from the buildings already mentioned; namely, the Vetus Capitolium, the temple of Quirinus, and the Argive chapels in question. But we shall not here enter into the obscure questions connected with these chapels, which we have discussed in the article already mentioned: to which the reader is referred.

[1] Varro, *L. L.* v. § 45.

[2] Smith's *Dict. of Geogr.* vol. ii. p. 733.

[3] Plut. *Num.* 15.

Numa is also said to have distributed the public lands among the poorer citizens, to have divided the country into *pagi* or districts, and to have established the custom of marking the boundaries of lands with stones, sacred to the god Terminus; in whose honour was celebrated the festival called *Terminalia*. With regard to the city we need only further mention that he erected a large temple, the only one which we hear of his having founded on the Capitoline, to FIDES PUBLICA, or public faith, and bade the flamines sacrifice to her with a fillet on the right hand as the symbol of fidelity.[1] He is also said to have instituted the Roman guilds or trade corporations. All his institutions were believed to have a sacred origin, and to have been suggested to him by the nymph EGERIA, with whom he held secret colloquies in her grove; the reputed site of which seems to have lain near the Porta Capena.[2]

Numa died after a peaceful reign of forty-three years, and was buried on the Janiculum. He left several sons, but the monarchy was elective, and after a short interregnum Tullus Hostilius was elected king. The most important event in the reign of Tullus with regard to the history of the city (A.U.C. 81-114) was the capture and destruction of Alba Longa, and the transfer of its inhabitants to Rome, which thus became the chief city of the Latin League. In order to provide dwellings for these new colonists, Tullus Hostilius assigned to them the Cælian Hill; the previous Etruscan inhabitants of which had, as we have seen, been at least for the most part removed to the Vicus Tuscus. Tullus Hostilius fixed his residence on the Cælian,[3] though he had also,

[1] Livy, i. 21; Cic. *N. D.* ii. 23; Val. Max. iii. 2, § 17.
[2] Juv. *Sat.* iii. 10 sq.
[3] Liv. i. 30; Eutrop. i. 4; Victor, *Vir. Ill.* 4.

and perhaps previously, a house on the Velia.[1] Several noble Alban families having been thus added to the Roman patricians, Tullus found it necessary to build a convenient curia, or senate-house. This building, which, as Livy tells us,[2] continued to bear the name of CURIA HOSTILIA down to the generation which preceded him, was situated, as I have shown elsewhere,[3] at the north-west corner of the Forum, adjoining the north-eastern side of the Vulcanal. Its future changes will demand our attention in a subsequent part of this work; and it is only necessary to mention here, that, as I trust it has been shown in the article *Roma*, although the Curia Hostilia was frequently destroyed and rebuilt, and its name altered, the senate down to the latest times continued to assemble on or near the same spot; namely, that now occupied by the church of Santa Martina. For I think, for reasons given in the Preface, that is a more probable site for it than S. Adriano, as many topographers hold. It may be further observed that though the Curia Hostilia was a *templum*, or inaugurated building, without which ceremony public business could not have been transacted there, yet it was not a place at which divine service could be performed;[4] for which purpose dedication and consecration by the pontiffs were further required. Thus it was precisely the reverse of the Ædes Vestæ, which was no *templum*, though an *ædes sacra;* while the Curia Hostilia was a *templum*, but not an *ædes sacra*.

[1] Varro, *Fragm. de Vita Pop. Rom.* in Nonius Marcellus, voc. *Secundum*, p. 363; Solinus, i. 22. [2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] Smith's *Dict. of Anc. Geogr.* vol. ii. p. 779.

[4] "Curia Hostilia templum est, et sanctum non est; sed hoc ut putarent, ædem sacram templum esse, factum quod in urbe Roma pleræque ædes sacræ sunt templa."—Varro, *L. L.* vii. § 10.

Adjoining the Curia on its western side was an open space, called SENACULUM, where the senators were accustomed to meet before entering the Curia, and where, probably, they gave audience to such magistrates as were not permitted to enter that building. It must have closely adjoined the Vulcanal; on the area of which, though in later times, and after Rome had extended her conquests over foreign nations, was another open space called Græcostasis, of which we shall have to speak further on.

Out of the spoils of Alba Longa, Tullus Hostilius is also said to have improved the COMITIUM, a space at the north-west end of the Forum, and fronting the Curia. How the Comitium obtained that name it is impossible to say. It might perhaps have been so called from its being the common meeting-place of the Roman and Sabine inhabitants; but Varro's etymology seems preferable, who derives the name from the meeting there of the Comitia Curiata and of the law courts.[1] Hence the Comitium was a *templum*, or inaugurated place, as we learn from the speech of Furius Camillus in Livy.[2] The only other foundation of Tullus Hostilius which we need mention here was a CURIA SALIORUM on the Quirinal Hill, which he had vowed during a war with Fidenæ. This institution was an imitation of that of Numa on the Palatine, already mentioned; only the Salians, established by Tullus, were devoted to the worship of Quirinus instead of Mars, and were called Salii Agonenses or Collini, from Agonus, the ancient name of the hill,[3] and because

[1] *L. L.* v. § 155.

[2] "Comitia curiata, quæ rem militarem continent, comitia centuriata, quibus consules tribunosque militares creatis, ubi auspicato, nisi ubi assolent, fieri possunt?"—Liv. v. 52.

[3] Liv. i. 27; Dionys. ii. 70; Varro, *L. L.* vi. § 14.

the three northernmost hills of Rome were called *colles* and *regio collina*, in contradistinction to the other four, which bore the name of *montes:* a distinction which perhaps arose from these latter being isolated, while the others are mere tongues projecting from a common height.

Of other monuments of the reign of Tullus Hostilius, we need here only mention the TIGILLUM SORORIUM. The tragical end of the struggle between the Horatii and Curiatii is well known; how the third Horatius, returning victorious from the combat laden with the spoils of his three opponents, was met at the entrance of the city by his sister, the betrothed of one of the Curiatii; how the maiden for bewailing her future husband was stabbed to the heart by her enraged brother; how the people absolved the condemned fratricide at the prayer of his father; how the latter expiated his son's crimes by certain rites and by making him pass under a beam or yoke, the "Sister's Beam," erected across a small street or lane leading from the Vicus Cyprius to the Carinæ. On each side of it stood an altar, the one dedicated to Juno Sororia, the other to Janus Curiatius. The beam was constantly repaired at the public expense, and appears to have been extant in the fifth century.[1]

Having completed a reign of thirty-two years, Tullus Hostilius mysteriously perished; and after another interregnum Ancus Marcius, a grandson of Numa, was elected king. By the Latin wars of this monarch and the reduction of Politorium, Tellenæ, Ficana, and Medullia, many of whose inhabitants he transferred to Rome, the population of that city was greatly augmented. Ancus placed many thousand Latins on the Aventine, which

[1] Liv. i. 26; Dionys. iii. 22; *Notitia.*

hill, as we have said, appears to have been hardly inhabited previously; he also settled many in the Vallis Murcia, near the temple of that goddess, in order to connect the Aventine with the Palatine.[1] Niebuhr supposes[2] that these settlements were the origin of the Roman *plebs*, or plebeian order, properly so called, of which Ancus was consequently the founder, and he is followed by Dr. Arnold,[3] M. Ampère,[4] and others. But Sir George Cornewall Lewis has shown that such an hypothesis is totally destitute of foundation, and that the plebeian order is regarded by all the ancient writers as coeval with the origin of the city.[5]

Ancus also enlarged the boundaries of the city by fortifying Mons Janiculus, the hill over against Rome, on the right or western bank of the Tiber. The JANICULUM appears to have derived its name from an ancient tradition already mentioned that Janus had formerly founded a city on this spot, which Pliny mentions under the name of Antipolis.[6] The Janiculum, however, seems to have been fortified rather for the sake of the protection which it afforded to the city, than to obtain dwelling room for inhabitants. Ancus connected it with Rome by means of the Sublician bridge, or PONS SUBLICIUS, so called from its having been built on piles (sublicæ).[7] This was the first bridge constructed at Rome, and it appears to have existed till a late period of the Empire. The Janiculum was little built upon before the

[1] Liv. i. 33; Dionys. iii. 36-46; Strabo, v. 3, § 7.

[2] See B. i., *Die Gemeinde und die plebeischen Tribus*, S. 428 f. (vol. i. p. 355, Engl. transl.)

[3] *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 28. [4] *Hist. Rom. à Rome*, t. ii. p. 15.

[5] *Credibility, &c.* vol. i. p. 468.

[6] Plin. iii. 9, 16; Virg. *Æn.* viii. 357, et ibi Serv.; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 245.

[7] Liv. i. 33; Dionys. iii. 45; Varro, *L. L.* v. § 83.

time of Augustus, and it was probably never considered as being included in the Pomœrium, and therefore as forming part of the Urbs, properly so called. Varro does not mention it as included in the city.

We have already mentioned the acquisition by Romulus of the district called Septem Pagi, and of the salt-works at the mouth of the Tiber. Ancus founded at the latter spot the town of Ostia, which subsequently became the port of Rome, and he extended his dominion to the Tyrrhenian sea by capturing from the Veientines the Silva Mœsia. In the city he founded the CARCER MAMERTINUS, or Mamertine prison, a name, however, not found in any classical writer, and which seems to have been given to it in the middle ages. It was situated near the Forum, below the northern height of the Capitoline Hill, or present church of Ara Celi; one chamber of it may still be seen under the church of S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami. He also constructed the FOSSA QUIRITIUM, which was probably a sort of fortification; but in what part of Rome it was, or whether at Rome at all, and not rather at Ostia, it is impossible to determine.[1] Ancus Marcius resided near the ÆDES LARIUM, on the Summa Sacra Via, or probably between that and the Porta Mugionis.[2] He died in B.C. 616, after a reign of twenty-four years.

After the death of Ancus, a new epoch opens in the history of the city by the introduction of the dynasty of the Tarquins.

This family, though settled in the Etruscan town of Tarquinii, was of Greek extraction. Demaratus, the father of Tarquinius Priscus, belonged to the Corinthian race of the Bacchiadæ, who, after holding the supreme

[1] Liv. i. 33; Festus, p. 254; Victor, *Vir. Ill.* c. 5.

[2] Varro in Nonius, voc. *Secundum*, p. 363; Solinus, c. 1, 23.

power at Corinth nearly a century, were expelled by Cypselus in the year B.C. 665; at which time Tullus Hostilius was king of Rome. Demaratus settled at Tarquinii, and married an Etruscan wife, by whom he had two sons, Lucumo and Aruns; the latter, however, died in early manhood, and Lucumo inherited all the wealth of his father. Lucumo married an Etruscan wife named Tanaquil, a woman of ambitious character; who, finding that her husband, in spite of his riches and power, was excluded by the circumstance of his Greek descent from all political influence at Tarquinii, persuaded him to migrate to Rome; where, as we have seen, an Etruscan colony had long been settled. Becoming naturalized here, he Latinized his name of Lucumo by changing it into Lucius; assumed from his native town the family appellation of Tarquinius; ingratiated himself with the Roman people, and even obtained the friendship of their king, Ancus Marcius; who left his youthful sons under Tarquin's guardianship. But this trust Tarquin betrayed. After the death of Ancus, he sent that monarch's sons out of the city on pretence of a hunting party, and in their absence caused himself to be elected king.[1]

We may here remark a few undesigned coincidences, which, as in the case of Numa, confer at least a high degree of probability on the traditions respecting the first Tarquin. Let us observe first that the story of the Corinthian Bacchiadæ has been related by Grecian writers who treated not of Roman history, as Herodotus, Aristotle, Pausanias, and others;[2] and that the acutest researches of modern criticism have not succeeded in

[1] Liv. i. 34 sq.; Dionys. iii. 41 sqq.; Diodor. viii. 31; Strabo, v. 2, § 2.

[2] Herod. v. 92; Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 12, &c.; Pausanias, ii. 4, v. 17.

discovering anything inconsistent with Grecian history in the accounts transmitted by historians of Rome respecting the Bacchiad emigrants at Tarquinii.[1] This prima facie case of probability is strengthened a hundredfold by the accounts which the Roman historians have left us of the magnificent architectural works completed or designed by the Tarquins at Rome. It is well known that Corinth, a city early renowned for its wealth and commerce, was the cradle of Grecian art.[2] Painting is believed to have originated there, and Cleophantus, one of the earliest professors of that art, is said to have accompanied Demaratus to Tarquinii.[3] Corinth was celebrated in very ancient times for its sculpture, and especially for works in bronze. The cedar chest adorned with bas-reliefs, in which Cypselus was said to have been concealed by his mother from the search of the Bacchiadæ, was a miracle of art, and has been described at great length by Pausanias,[4] in whose time it was still extant. The Corinthians were also renowned for their pottery, and especially for their architecture, which they brought to a pitch of the most elaborate perfection in the architectural order to which they gave their name. What then more probable than that a family which owed its origin to such a city should have designed at

[1] Thus Sir G. Cornewall Lewis says: "The story of the flight of Demaratus from Corinth is consistent with the chronologies of both nations. . . . The commencement of the reign of Cypselus at Corinth (which is described as the cause of the flight of Demaratus) is placed at 655 B.C.; and the reign of Ancus is said to have lasted from 641 to 617 B.C.; so that the son of Demaratus, born at Tarquinii, might have become eminent at Rome during that king's lifetime."—*Credibility of Early Rom. Hist.* vol. i. p. 477. We may say of the story, then, with the Italians: "Se non è vero, è ben trovato."

[2] Strabo, viii. 6, § 23.

[3] Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 5.

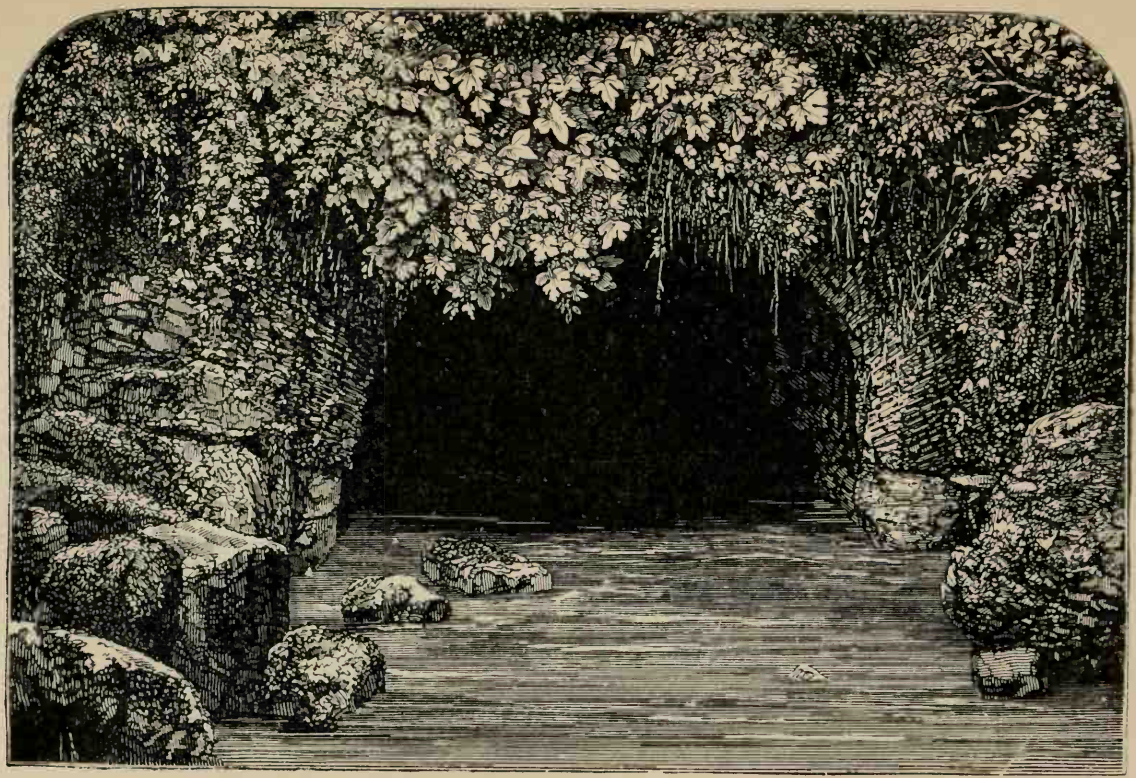
[4] Lib. v. c. 17-19.

Rome those magnificent architectural works which are attributed to them by the Roman historians? We must recollect, too, that the accounts of these works are not introduced for the purpose of supporting any historical hypothesis, and lending a colour of truth to the narrative, but are given naturally and carelessly, and as it were by the way; thus forming, by an undesigned coincidence, which the reader must perceive for himself, a very strong proof of the authenticity of these traditions. But we must now proceed briefly to describe the chief improvements and alterations which Tarquinius Priscus effected at Rome.

Most of these improvements were made in the neighbourhood of the Forum. The most important of them, without which, indeed, the rest would have been of little use, was the vast sewer called Cloaca Maxima, which was constructed in order to drain the Forum and Velabrum of their superfluous waters and render the soil firm and habitable. This great work, composed of three semicircular arches enclosing one another, of which the innermost has a diameter of more than twelve feet, began northwards of the Forum, and, running through the Velabrum, discharged itself into the Tiber a little below the present *Ponte Rotto;* from which, when the water is low, the mouth of it may still be discerned. It was large enough to be traversed by a Roman hay-cart, and Agrippa is said to have sailed down it in a boat.[1] The stone used for the construction of the Cloaca, which differs from that employed in the time of the Republic, attests its high antiquity.[2]

It was after the construction of this sewer that the Lacus Curtius, according to the most probable account,

[1] Dion Cassius, xlix. 43. [2] Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 52.



O. JEWITT, del. & Sc.

CLOACA MAXIMA.

(THE UPPER END IN THE VELABRUM.)

disappeared.[1] It may be further remarked here that Tarquin introduced at Rome a great improvement in the way of constructing the masonry of walls, by reducing the stones to rectangular blocks, apparently of the same height, if not of the same length, instead of using the irregular masses previously employed.[2]

The ground being thus prepared, Tarquin caused a row of shops to be erected along the southern side of the Forum, which in process of time obtained the name of TABERNÆ VETERES, in contradistinction to the Tabernæ Novæ subsequently built on the opposite or northern side; but at what period it does not appear. It must be confessed that these shops seem not to have been very splendid, but to have been occupied at first by butchers and other tradesmen of the like kind. At the head of the Forum and under the Capitoline Hill, Tarquin is also said to have founded the TEMPLE OF SATURN, at the spot where the altar of that deity had previously stood. The ruin of eight columns, belonging to a late renovation of the building, still marks its original site, where Tullus had previously consecrated a fane to the same deity.[3] The temple, however, does not appear to have been dedicated till after the expulsion of the kings. But the most magnificent building designed by Tarquinius Priscus was the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter, which he had vowed in the Sabine war. The completion of it was, however, reserved for his successor, Tarquinius Superbus, and the first Tarquin appears to have done no more than mark out and prepare the

[1] Varro, *L. L.* v. § 149.

[2] See on this subject Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, S. 141.

[3] Macrob. *Sat.* i. § 8. The reasons why this ruin should be considered as belonging to the Temple of Saturn are given in the article *Roma*, p. 781 sq.

ground on which it was to stand.[1] The site of this famous temple has never been incontestably ascertained, though German topographers assert that they have certainly discovered it in the foundations of the Caffarelli Palace. I have stated in the Preface the reasons why I differ from that opinion, and think, on the contrary, that that discovery proves it could not have been there. Tarquin also marked out and prepared the greater part of the Vallis Murcia, between the Palatine and Aventine, for a circus, afterwards from its vastness called CIRCUS MAXIMUS, for the exhibition of horse and chariot races. It was then, however, in a very rude state; and though it underwent successive improvements during several centuries, it was not altogether perfected till the time of Cæsar. Tarquin the elder appears not to have erected any buildings on it. He merely assigned to the senators, knights, and members of the thirty curiæ, that is, the patricians, certain places around the circus for viewing the games, on which they erected their own seats.[2]

The sons of Ancus Marcius, who had been supplanted by Tarquinius Priscus, procured his assassination in the thirty-ninth year of his reign (B.C. 578).[3] Tanaquil, however, concealed the death of her husband till his son-in-law, Servius Tullius, had time to seize the regal power; which he appears to have done with the connivance of the senate, but without having been elected by the people.[4]

The reign of Servius Tullius is also a most important one for the history of the Roman city. At the time of his accession the various elements of the population were become completely amalgamated, and the Seven Hills

[1] Dionys. iv. 59; Liv. i. 56; Tac. *Hist.* iii. 72.
[2] Liv. i. 35; Dionys. iii. 68.
[3] Liv. i. 40; Dionys. iii. 72 sq.
[4] Liv. i. 41.

of Rome, namely, the Palatine, the Capitoline, the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, Cælian, and Aventine, were more or less covered with habitations. All these hills Servius included in a wall, and thus precisely defined the boundaries of Rome. Tarquin, indeed, is said to have planned, and may perhaps even have partially executed, this wall; but it certainly was not finished till the reign of Servius.[1] Hence the whole wall is commonly ascribed to him, and called the Servian, never the Tarquinian, wall. A sort of enclosure or fortification appears, indeed, to have existed previously, but only of a rude and temporary kind.[2] We shall here briefly describe the SERVIAN WALL and its gates, according to the most probable idea which can be formed on the subject, and without discussing the controversies to which it has given rise.

Beginning at the northern point of the Capitoline Hill, near the present church of Ara Celi, the wall ran in a north-easterly direction along the ridge of the Collis Quirinalis, including the isthmus, or tongue, which connected that hill with the Capitoline, by Monte Cavallo and the Palazzo Quirinale,[3] till it reached its most northerly extension near the spot where the Via del Maccao now intersects the Via di Porta Pia. The gates on this portion of the line were the PORTA RATUMENA, close to the Capitoline; the PORTA FONTINALIS, at the present height of Magnanapoli; the PORTA SANQUALIS, so named apparently from the Temple of Semo Sancus,

[1] *Ibid.* c. 36, 38; Dionys. iii. 67. Victor (*Vir. Ill.* c. 6 sq.) represents Tarquin as completing the wall, and Servius as only adding the *agger;* but this is contrary to the best authorities.

[2] τείχη αὐτοσχέδια καὶ φαῦλα ταῖς ἐργασίαις. Dionys. *loc. cit.*

[3] A portion of the foundations was laid bare by excavations at this spot when the author was at Rome in the winter of 1864-5.

already mentioned, near this spot on Monte Cavallo; the PORTA SALUTARIS, called after the Temple of Salus, on the Via di Quattro Fontane, on the eastern side of the Piazza Barberini, and the PORTA COLLINA, at or near the northernmost point before indicated. The site of the Porta Ratumena, which is said to have been so named after a charioteer who there met his death, is testified by some sepulchral monuments just outside of it; namely, the still existing tomb of Bibulus in the Macel' de Corvi, and the remains of another sepulchre which were discovered in the Via della Pedacchia. For it was a well-known custom of the Romans not to permit interments within the walls, except in certain extraordinary instances; and hence the sepulchral monuments of distinguished persons were erected outside the gates, along the borders of the high roads. The Porta Ratumena led to what was in later times the Via Flaminia.

At the Porta Collina, the northernmost gate, whence issued what were afterwards called the Via Salaria and Via Nomentana, began the AGGER of Servius Tullius, which proceeded nearly three-quarters of a mile in a southerly and slightly easterly direction towards the Porta Esquilina. The agger was constructed because at this portion of the circuit the ground presented no natural elevation which might be made available for defensive purposes. It was 50 feet broad, and outside of it lay a ditch 100 feet wide and 30 feet deep. Remains of this immense work are still visible, but large portions of it have been removed to make way for the railway station. It appears to have had in the middle of it a gate called the PORTA VIMINALIS. The PORTA ESQUILINA at its southern extremity stood opposite the eastern front of Sta. Maria Maggiore, about a hundred yards from the church of S. Antonio; from it issued roads leading to

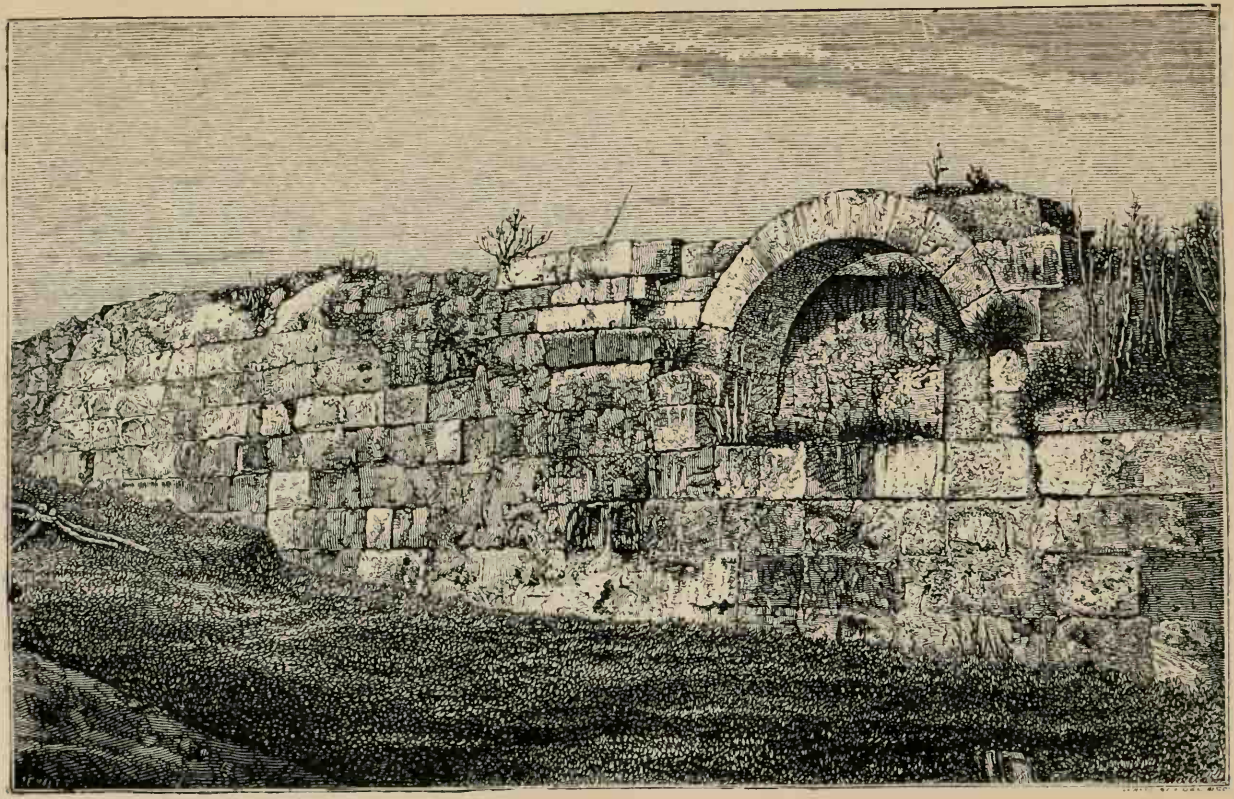
Tibur and Prænestе. Proceeding in a direction nearly due south, the wall next reached the PORTA QUERQUETULANA, close to the present church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, near the intersection of the Via Merulana by the Via Labicana, in the valley between the Esquiline and Cælian hills. It has been already remarked that the Cælian was anciently called Mons Querquetulanus. The site, however, and even the existence of the Porta Querquetulana, which, at all events, does not appear to have been a very important one, is not altogether certain; and it may perhaps have been only another name for the next gate to the south, the PORTA CÆLIMONTANA. This gate must have stood at the summit of the Via di S. Giovanni in Laterano, where that street enters the piazza of the Lateran. From this point the wall trended towards the south-west, till it reached the PORTA CAPENA, situated in the valley at the southern side of the Cælian, on the present Via di Porta S. Sebastiano, about three hundred yards beyond the termination of the Via di S. Gregorio. The site of the Porta Capena is more accurately ascertained than that of any other of the Servian gates, from the discovery of the first milestone on the Via Appia. That road issued from the Porta Capena, while at the distance of a few hundred yards the Via Latina branched off towards the left. A little beyond this point of divergence, and between it and the modern Porta di S. Sebastiano, lies one of the most interesting monuments of republican Rome, the tomb of the Scipios.

From the Porta Capena, the wall crossing the valley traversed by the brook called Aqua Crabra, now the Marrana, ascended the height where stands the church of S. Balbina; near which probably there was a gate called LAVERNALIS. A little further south lay perhaps a PORTA RAUDUSCULANA; and hence the wall, winding a

little to the south of Sta. Saba, began to take a north-westerly direction, till it reached the PORTA NÆVIA, near the foot of the southern extremity of the Aventine. The site of this gate is, however, by no means certain. From this point considerable remains of the wall in its progress towards the west may still be seen on the Aventine, in a vineyard belonging to the Collegio Romano, about halfway between the church of Sta. Prisca and the Porta S. Paolo. Hence the wall continued along the southern and western sides of the Aventine, till it terminated at the Tiber, a little beyond the northern extremity of the hill. In this section also a portion of the wall was discovered in the autumn of 1855, near Sta. Sabina, during the progress of some excavations made by the Dominican monks of that convent.[1] From the northern extremity of the Aventine the wall, turning at a right angle, proceeded across the low ground till it reached the bank of the river; and in this portion of it lay the PORTA TRIGEMINA, at the foot of the Clivus Publicius. In the line of wall between this gate and the Porta Nævia already mentioned, there was probably another, the PORTA MINUCIA. Its site cannot be determined, but it seems to have lain on the southern side of the Aventine.

Another small strip of wall ran from the southern extremity of the Capitoline Hill to the Tiber, which it joined over against the lower end of the Insula Tiberina. The bank of the river from this point to the Porta Trigemina appears to have been unprotected. Close under the Capitoline Hill was the PORTA CARMENTALIS, so named after Carmenta, the mother of Evander, whose altar stood near it; and between this gate and the river lay another, the PORTA FLUMENTALIS. In this piece of wall

[1] *Paper* read by Cardinal Wiseman before the Royal Society of Literature, June 25, 1856.



REMAINS OF THE SERVIAN WALL ON THE AVENTINE.

p. 54.

there may also have been, as I have endeavoured to show in the article *Roma*, a third gate, the PORTA TRIUMPHALIS. But this formed no common thoroughfare into the city. It was opened only on state occasions, and was not, perhaps, made till long after the time of Servius. The wall does not seem to have been carried along the western side of the Capitoline Hill, which was perhaps sufficiently defended by its precipitous nature. It is doubtful whether at this period there was a wall from the Janiculum down to the river; but, at all events, this Transtiberine district formed no proper part of the city.

The circuit of the walls thus described was about six miles, and included, as we have said, the seven hills which came to be regarded in later times as the true Roman Septimontium. There appears to have been anciently another Septimontium which embraced a rather different list of hills; but the question is so obscure that we shall not enter into it here.[1] Servius, probably for administrative purposes, divided the city which he had thus enclosed into four regions or districts: namely, the *Suburana*, which embraced the Cælian Hill, and the southern portion of the Esquiline, known as Mons Oppius, with the adjoining valleys; the *Esquilina*, embracing the northern tongue of the Esquiline, called Mons Cispius, and extending as far as the agger of Servius; the *Collina*, including the Quirinal and Viminal hills, with the intervening valleys; and the *Palatina*, which included that hill with the Velia and Germalus.[2] Why the Capitoline and Aventine with the adjacent valleys were omitted cannot be said; but the distribution

[1] See Smith's *Dict. of Anc. Geogr.* vol. ii. p. 734.

[2] Varro, *L. L.* v. § 45 sqq. (Müll).

was probably regulated by the Argive chapels, which we have already mentioned.

Among the other works of Servius Tullius, besides the wall, was a TEMPLE OF DIANA which he erected on the Aventine, apparently near the present church of Sta. Prisca. This temple, in imitation of the Amphictyonic confederacy, was to be the common sanctuary and place of meeting for the cities belonging to the Latin League, of which Rome had become the chief through the conquest of Alba Longa; and her supremacy was tacitly acknowledged by the temple being erected with money contributed by the Latin cities. It is said to have been an imitation of the Artemisium, or Temple of Diana at Ephesus.[1] The brazen column containing the terms of the league and the names of the cities belonging to it, was preserved in the time of Dionysius.

Servius Tullius, perhaps from his unexpected elevation to the crown, appears to have been a devoted worshipper of Fortune. Plutarch says that he erected several temples in honour of that goddess;[2] and we know certainly of two: one in the Forum Boarium, and another on the right bank of the Tiber, dedicated under the title of FORS FORTUNA.[3] Servius also founded in the Forum Boarium a Temple of MATER MATUTA, a surname apparently of Juno;[4] and a Temple of LUNA, probably that on the Aventine.[5] He likewise completed the Mamertine prison by adding to it a subterranean dungeon, called

[1] Liv. i. 45; Dionys. iv. 26; Varro, *L. L.* v. § 43; Val. Max. vii. 3, § 1.

[2] *De Fort. Rom.* 10.

[3] Dionys. iv. 27; compared with Varro, *L. L.* vi. § 17 (Müll). The Greek author has mistranslated the genitive *fortis*, from *fors*, by ἀνδρεῖος (*virilis*), as if it were from *fortis*.

[4] Liv. v. 19; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 471 sqq.

[5] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 41.

after him TULLIANUM. The traveller may still visit it, and recognise the fidelity of Sallust's description: "Est in carcere locus quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paullulum ascenderis ad lævam, circiter xii pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta: sed incultu, tenebris, odore, fœda atque terribilis ejus facies."[1] This terrible dungeon, from its impenetrable strength, was also called ROBUR. In later times a flight of steps called SCALÆ GEMONIÆ, or steps of wailing[2]—an epithet which M. Ampère aptly parallels with the Bridge of Sighs at the prison at Venice[3]—led down towards the Carcer, and thence to the Forum, from a place of execution situated apparently on the Capitoline; but they were not the steps pointed out by the modern *ciceroni* within the prison, since they were visible from the Forum.[4] Whether, after completing the classification of the people and performing the lustration called *Suovetaurilia* in the vast field lying between the hills and the Tiber, on which modern Rome is built, Servius, as Sir G. C. Lewis asserts,[5] "dedicated the field to Mars, whence it acquired thenceforward the name of *Campus Martius*," seems doubtful. Livy says that it was not dedicated to that god, and did not obtain the name of *Martius*, till after the expulsion of the Tarquins;[6] and though Dionysius gives a different account, yet it cannot be inferred from his

[1] *Bell. Cat.* 55; cf. Varro, *L. L.* v. § 151.

[2] Pliny calls them Gradus Gemitorii. *H. N.* viii. 61, § 3.

[3] t. ii. p. 34.

[4] "Corpus ejus in Scalis Gemoniis jacens magno cum horrore totius Fori Romani conspectum est."—Val. Max. vi. 9, 13. Tac. *Hist.* iii. 74; Suet. *Tib.* 61; Dion. Cass. lviii. 5.

[5] *Credibility, &c.* vol. i. p. 492.

[6] "Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius deinde campus fuit."—ii. 5.

words that Servius dedicated the field to Mars, but rather that it had been already consecrated to that deity. Thus, after describing the performance of the *lustrum* by Servius, the historian goes on to say that he sacrificed to Mars, *who was in possession of the plain;*[1] and in another passage he states that it had been consecrated to that deity at an earlier epoch than the expulsion of the Tarquins, but without defining when.[2] It is certain that an ARA MARTIS existed from a very ancient date in the Campus, not far from the Porta Fontinalis; and in the early times of the republic the censors after their election were, as it were, enthroned near it in their curule chairs. At a later date there was also an ÆDES MARTIS in the Campus, distinct from and probably much more ancient than that erected by Brutus Callaicus near the Circus Flaminius. The site of the former temple cannot be accurately determined; but it was probably near the spot where the EQUIRIA, or horse-races in honour of Mars, supposed to have been instituted by Romulus, were celebrated.[3] On the whole, perhaps, we may conclude that the field had been set aside for public use before the time of Tarquinius Priscus; but if we reject this account, then we must accept the positive statement of Livy.

Servius Tullius was murdered by his own daughter Tullia, and her husband L. Tarquinius, son of Tarquinius Priscus (B.C. 535). His assassination took place as he was on his way to his residence on the Esquiline, at the top of a street called the VICUS CYPRIUS, and near the CLIVUS URBIUS, or ascent to the summit of the hill.

[1] ἔθυε τῷ κατέχοντι τὸ πεδίον Ἄρει. iv. 22.

[2] τοῦτο (τὸ πεδίον) δ' Ἄρεος ὑπάρχειν ἱερὸν οἱ πρότερον ἐψηφίσαντο. v. 13.

[3] Dion. Cass. lvi. 24; Ov. *Fast.* ii. 855.

From this bloody and unnatural deed the street ever afterwards obtained the name of VICUS SCELERATUS. It must have corresponded either with the modern Via di Sta. Lucia in Selce or with the Via Urbana, according as the palace of Servius was situated near the church of S. Martino or Sta. Maria Maggiore.[1]

After the murder of his father-in-law, Tarquin seized the throne without asking for the votes of the people or the approbation of the senate. He supported his usurpation by military force, and assumed so haughty and repulsive a demeanour that he obtained the surname of *Superbus*. But, like his father, he had a taste for architecture; and after a Sabine war, and the capture of the rich Volscian town of Suessa Pometia, he applied himself to improve and adorn Rome. His most magnificent work was the Temple of JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS, which, as we have already said, had been planned, and the ground for it marked out by his father, on Mons Tarpeius. The head of a man, still bloody, was found in digging the foundations; an omen interpreted by an Etruscan augur to portend that Rome would become the head of Italy. So far as regards the history of the city, the incident has more importance as being said to have occasioned the name of the hill to be changed from Mons Tarpeius to MONS CAPITOLINUS, or CAPITOLIUM; an appellation which it continued ever afterwards to bear.[2]

The temple stood on an artificial platform, or terrace, nearly square; each of its four sides being about 200 feet long; for the length exceeded the breadth by only

[1] Liv. i. 48; Dionys. iv. 39; Varro, *L. L.* v. § 159; Ovid, *Fasti.* vi. 603; Solin. i. 25.

[2] Liv. i. 55; Plin. *H. N.* xxxviii. 4; Varro, *L. L.* v. § 41. According to Servius, *Æn.* viii. 345, the head was that of a man named Olus: whence the word *capitolium*.

fifteen feet. The front of the temple, facing the south, had a triple row of columns, the sides a double row,[1] and the back apparently none at all. The building was low and broad, and of the kind called *arœostyle:* that is, having such wide intercolumniations that it was necessary to make the *epistylium*, or architrave, of wood;[2] a circumstance which accounts for its so easily catching fire. Its breadth was necessitated by its having three cells adjoining one another: the centre one being appropriated to Jove, with Juno and Minerva on either hand; for, as we have seen, it was usual with the early Italian nations to associate these three divinities together, just as we find another trinity of Ceres, Liber, and Libera. The cell of Minerva appears to have been on the right hand of that of Jove.[3] The temple had, however, but a single roof, and one *fastigium*, or pediment; on the acroterium stood a quadriga of *terra cotta*, which is related to have swollen prodigiously in the baking; an omen thought to portend the future greatness of the city. The image of Jove was also of *terra cotta.* The god was in a sitting posture; his face was ruddy with vermilion, and he was clothed in a tunica palmata and toga picta; a costume afterwards imitated by victorious generals in their triumphs. The original building escaped the conflagration when Rome was captured by the Gauls, and lasted till the consulship of L. Scipio and Norbanus (B.C. 83), when it was burnt down. It was

[1] The Chigi MS. of Dionysius reads, however, ἁπλῷ for διπλῷ; and if this be correct, there would have been only one row of columns at the sides. See Ampère, *Hist. Rom. à Rome*, t. ii. p. 226.

[2] Vitruv. iii. 3, § 5.

[3] "Fixa fuit (lex vetusta) dextro lateri ædis Jovis optimi maximi, ex qua parte Minervæ templum est."—Liv. vii. 3.

then re-erected on the same foundations, but with greater richness of materials.[1]

The Capitoline temple is the only great structure at Rome which we can attribute to Tarquinius Superbus, though he probably improved or completed some of the works of his predecessors; as, for instance, the Circus Maximus, which, according to Dionysius,[2] he surrounded with porticoes. It may be doubted, however, whether that kind of structure was introduced at Rome at so early a period; and the account of Dionysius is, moreover, irreconcilable with that of Livy,[3] who mentions that Tarquin employed the *plebs* in erecting around the Circus *fori*, or seats for the senators and knights. He is also thought to have built a Temple of Jupiter Latialis on Mons Albanus, as a meeting-place of the Latin Confederation, in opposition to the Temple of Diana, erected by his predecessor for that purpose on the Aventine. According to Piranesi, the temple on Mons Albanus was of considerable size, being 240 feet long by 120 broad. The remains of it were destroyed by the last of the Stuarts towards the end of the eighteenth century.[4]

The outrage committed by Tarquin's son, Sextus Tarquinius, on Lucretia, and his own unpopularity at Rome, caused by his haughty manners, his cruel tyranny, and the harshness with which he had compelled the plebeians to work at the Capitoline temple, enabled Brutus and Collatinus to expel him, and to establish the Roman Republic, B.C. 510.

The period from the expulsion of Tarquin to the cap-

[1] Dionys. iv. 61; Tac. *Hist.* iii. 72; Plin. xxviii. 4.

[2] Lib. iv. c. 44.

[3] Lib. i. c. 56. Respecting Roman porticoes, see Pitiscus, *Lexicon*, *voc. Porticus.*

[4] Ampère, *Hist. Rom. à Rome*, t. ii. p. 213.

ture and burning of Rome by the Gauls in B.C. 390 offers not any very material alterations in the city; it is chiefly marked by the founding of various temples, the principal of which we shall record in the sequel. Soon after Tarquin's flight, the consuls Brutus and Valerius proceeded to confiscate his property; when the Campus Martius, which he had appropriated and cultivated for his own use, was restored to the people. It was then covered with standing corn; but as the crop was deemed accursed, from its having been raised on consecrated ground, it was cut down and thrown into the river; where it is said to have lodged, and to have formed the INSULA TIBERINA.[1] However improbable this story may seem, it is difficult to believe but that the island must have been formed about this period, either in this or some other manner. Had it existed in the time of Ancus Marcius, he would doubtless have availed himself of it for his bridge across the Tiber; especially as it was much nearer to the central parts of Rome than the spot where the Pons Sublicius is commonly supposed to have stood.

Although Tarquinius Superbus had finished, or very nearly finished, the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, he had not been able to dedicate it because of his expulsion. This honour was reserved for M. Horatius, who, in the first year of the Republic, succeeded Brutus in the consulship.[2] The Temple of Saturn, though reputed to have been founded by Tarquinius Priscus, seems also, as we have already said, to have been left unfinished, or, at all events, undedicated. The ceremony of dedication was

[1] Liv. ii. 5; Dionys. v. 13.

[2] Liv. ii. 8, vii. 3; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 6; Polyb. iii. 22. Dionysius, however (v. 35), and Tacitus (*Hist.* iii. 72), place the dedication in the second consulship of Horatius, and third year of the Republic.

not performed till B.C. 497, in the consulship of A. Sempronius and M. Minucius, when the festival of the Saturnalia was also instituted.[1]

The consul, Valerius Publicola, who took an active part in procuring the confiscation of Tarquin's property, is also connected by other circumstances with the history of the city. He had begun to build a house on the Summa Sacra Via, where Tullus Hostilius had previously resided; but the choice of that regal site, and its situation, which commanded the Forum, having roused the suspicion of the people, Valerius caused the materials which he had collected to be transferred to the foot of the Velia, and there built his house close to the ÆDES of VICA POTA.[2] Its site must have been near the eastern extremity of the Forum, and not far from the present church of SS. Cosma e Damiano; since Dionysius in describing the burial-place of Publicola[3]—who, by one of those rare exceptions to which we have already alluded, was permitted by a special vote of the senate to be buried within the city and apparently at his house—says that it was close to the Forum.

[1] Dionys. vi. 1; Liv. ii. 21; Macr. *Sat.* i. 8. It should be observed, however, that some referred the dedication of this temple to Titus Larcius, consul in B.C. 498. Dionys. *loc. cit.*

[2] "Ædes suas detulit sub Veliam."—Cic. *Rep.* ii. 31. Liv. ii. 7; Dionys. v. 19; Plut. *Popl.* 10. When Asconius says (*ad Cic. in Pison.* 22) that the house of Publicola was "sub Velia, ubi nunc ædis *Victoriæ* est," this is evidently a corruption of *Vica Pota*, who was also a Roman deity of Victory. Cf. Cic. *De Leg.* ii. 11.

[3] καὶ χωρίον ἔνθα ἐκαύθη καὶ ἐτάφη, μόνῳ τῶν μέχρις ἐμοῦ γενομένων ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν τῇ πόλει σύνεγγυς τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέδειξεν ὑπὸ ἑλέους, v. 48. In this passage, which I had overlooked in the article *Roma*, we must undoubtedly read ὑπελίαις, or ὑπελιᾳ, for ὑπὸ ἑλέους; as also in lib. i. c. 68. See Becker, *Röm. Altherthümer*, B. i. S. 247. Burial within the city was forbidden by the laws of the Twelve Tables, no doubt after an ancient custom. We have only recently

It may also be mentioned here that the people bestowed on M. Valerius, brother of Publicola, for his services in a war with the Sabines, a piece of ground in the best part of the Palatine, where he might erect a house, and contributed the money requisite for that purpose. The house still existed in the time of Dionysius, who records a singular peculiarity connected with it: of all the houses in Rome, whether public or private, the door of this alone opened outwards.[1]

Tarquin did not sit down quietly in exile, but made some attempts to recover his throne. The Etruscan king, Lars Porsena of Clusium, to whom he had fled, took up his cause; which was also aided by Tarquin's son-in-law, Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum, and some revolted Latin states. The war with Porsena was the most dangerous that the Romans had yet encountered. They were defeated near the Janiculum; that fortress was captured, and Porsena would have entered Rome itself but for the well-known heroic action of Horatius Cocles in breaking down the Sublician bridge. While Porsena held the Janiculum, the attempt of Mucius Scævola upon his life induced him to treat. The acceptance of the hard conditions which he imposed amounted to a confession of defeat on the part of the Romans. They agreed to restore the district of Septem Pagi, which they had conquered from the Veientines, and to give as hostages for the execution of the treaty ten youths and ten maidens of the noblest families. Porsena, however, did not insist upon the restoration of the Tarquins, nor even of their

adopted this piece of civilization of the ancient Romans, whom some of us regard as semi-barbarians. Dionysius, in the passage quoted, says that Publicola and his family alone were buried within the city; but Cicero (*Leg.* ii. 23) mentions several persons.

[1] Lib. v. c. 39.

property. The escape of Clælia and the other maidens, their re-delivery to Porsena, and his final restoration of the hostages to their families, are well-known incidents in Roman history. After one more diplomatic effort to procure the restoration of the Tarquins, which entirely failed, Porsena abandoned their cause, and Tarquin found an asylum with his son-in-law at Tusculum. Porsena even restored the Septem Pagi to the Romans in return for their hospitality towards some of his troops who had sought refuge at Rome after being defeated in an attempt of his son Aruns upon Aricia.[1]

Such is briefly the commonly received account of the war with Porsena. Some modern writers, however, charge the Roman historians with concealing the truth, and are of opinion that Rome was actually surrendered and the sovereignty of Porsena acknowledged. This inference is drawn from the account of Dionysius of the presentation of an ivory throne and other ensigns of royalty to Porsena by a vote of the senate; from the words "dedita urbe" used by Tacitus when speaking of these events;[2] and from the treaty made with Porsena, extant in the time of Pliny; by which the Romans agreed to use no iron except for agricultural purposes.[3] But without questioning the existence of this treaty, it may be asked was it ever enforced? If, two thousand years hence, when the memory of the wars between England and the first French Empire may have grown dim, Napoleon's medal recording the capture of London should be discovered, might it not be used to establish as an historical fact an event that never took place? Sir G. C. Lewis's objections to the new version appear

[1] Liv. ii. 9-15; Dionys. v. 21-36; Plut. *Publ.* 16 sqq.
[2] *Hist.* iii. 72. [3] Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 39.

insurmountable. If Porsena reduced the Romans to absolute submission, why did he not restore Tarquin? If they were compelled to surrender their arms, why did not the Latins and other surrounding nations, with whom they had been at war, fall upon them in that defenceless state? How comes it that we find no trace of any serious blow inflicted upon them in the years immediately succeeding the expedition of Porsena? "Unless we are to suppose not only that the details and circumstances, but that the whole course and tenor of the early history of the Republic are fictitious, the gradual and unchecked advance of the military power of Rome, and the death of Tarquin in banishment, without having been ever restored to his throne, are facts deserving of credit; and these facts are irreconcilable with the supposition that Rome was subjugated by Porsena."[1] That an ignominious treaty was entered into to obtain the evacuation of the Janiculum, there can be little doubt; but the bad conduct of the Tarquins, or the generosity of the Romans towards the Etruscans, or some other cause, seems to have led Porsena to refrain from enforcing it. We may remark, too, that the act of the senate in voting the curule chair seems a spontaneous one, and not a compliance with the demands of a conqueror.

On the other hand, what is more germane to the present work, some monuments which existed at Rome serve to confirm the common version. A statue was erected to Cocles in the Comitium, which was afterwards removed to the Vulcanal, and was extant in the time of Pliny. To Scævola was given some land on the right bank of the Tiber, which from him bore the name of Mucia Prata; and Clælia was honoured with an eques-

[1] *Credibility, &c.* vol. ii. p. 41.

trian statue on the Sacra Via.[1] Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, disputed with Clælia the honour of having swum the Tiber, and seems also to have had an equestrian statue which was sometimes confounded with that of Clælia.[2]

Another attempt of Tarquin's, aided by the Latins, was frustrated by the battle at Lake Regillus in the territory of Tusculum. A legend connected with this battle occasioned the foundation of the TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX. In the heat of the battle, Postumius, the Roman dictator, had a vision of the Dioscuri leading on the Roman cavalry, and vowed a temple in their honour. The site of it was determined by another apparition of the same deities at Rome, whither they had brought the news of the victory, and where they were observed refreshing themselves at the fountain of Juturna, hard by the Temple of Vesta on the Forum. The ÆDES CASTORIS —for though dedicated by the son of Postumius to both the Dioscuri (B.C. 484), it bore in common usage only the name of Castor—was from its situation one of the most conspicuous, if not one of the largest in Rome; though, as it was often used for assemblies of the senate, it must have been of considerable size. The three elegant columns under the Palatine are remains of a restoration of it. Annually in the ides of July, on the anniversary of the victory at Regillus, costly sacrifices were offered at this temple; after which all the Roman knights, clothed in their richest attire, crowned with olive, and adorned with all their badges for good service in the field, rode past it in military array, starting from their place of muster at the Temple of Mars outside the city;[3]

[1] Liv. ii. 10, 13; Dionys. v. 25; Gell. iv. 5; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 13.
[2] See art. *Roma*, p. 728. [3] See below, p. 93.

one of the most splendid spectacles to be seen at Rome.[1] After the defeat at Regillus, Tarquin retired to the court of King Aristodemus at Cumæ, where he soon after died. The objection sometimes urged against the truth of the battle at Lake Regillus, namely, that no lake exists near which it can be supposed to have taken place, has been obviated by Rosa's discovery of the ancient bed of one near Colonna, at a place still called Pontano, or the marsh. The surrounding country answers admirably to the description of the battle-field.[2]

Postumius is also said to have vowed, at Lake Regillus, a TEMPLE TO CERES, LIBER, AND LIBERA. Liber and Libera, two ancient Latin divinities, presided over the cultivation of the vine, and were worshipped in conjunction with Ceres. They are sometimes identified with the Greek Dionysus and Persephoné, or Cora, the daughter of Demeter. This temple, which overhung the carceres, or starting-place, at the western extremity of the Circus Maximus, was dedicated by the consul Spurius Cassius, B.C. 493. It was under the peculiar superintendence of the ædiles, who here kept their archives, as well as the senatusconsulta, &c. Here also in times of scarcity they distributed bread to the poor.[3]

The plebeian secession to Mons Sacer will claim our attention when we come to speak of some changes made on the Aventine; and we shall therefore proceed to the foundation of the Temple of FORTUNA MULIEBRIS, which is connected with the story of Coriolanus. In the consternation occasioned by that general's threatened assault on Rome, a great number of women had congregated together in the Capitoline temple, when Valeria, sister of Publicola, advised them to persuade Veturia, mother of

[1] Dionys. vi. 13. [2] Ampère, t. ii. p. 229 sq.
[3] Liv. iii. 55; Varro, ap. Non. Marc. voc. *pandere*, p. 30.

Coriolanus, to intercede with her son. After much debate, the senate permitted Veturia, together with Volumnia the wife of Coriolanus, to proceed to the Volscian camp at the head of the Roman matrons; when Cariolanus, unable to resist the touching entreaties of his wife and mother, consented to retreat. The women having been permitted to choose a reward for this service, decided on the erection of a temple to Fortuna Muliebris, or the fortune of women, to be erected on the Via Latina, at the spot where Coriolanus had received their supplications. The temple was accordingly built at the fourth milestone on that road, and was dedicated by the consul Proculus Virginius, B.C. 486. Valeria was the first priestess; the service of the temple was to be performed by women newly married for the first time; and none who had wedded a second husband was permitted to approach the statue of the goddess.[1] It may here be remarked that Fortune was worshipped under a vast variety of names, and had a great number of temples at Rome. The practice is censured by Pliny[2] and by Juvenal:

> Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia; sed te
> Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam, cœloque locamus.[3]

But it has been alleged in excuse, that the nemesis of the gods was thus avoided, which pursued the man who attributed success to his own merits, and not to fortune, or some other uncontrollable influence.[4]

[1] Dionys. viii. 55 sq.; Liv. ii. 40; Val. Max. i. 8, § 4.

[2] *H. N.* ii. 57.

[3] *Sat.* x. 365. To judge by the numbers who throng the shops where lottery tickets are vended, the modern Romans are not less ardent worshippers of fortune than their ancestors.

[4] Plut. *Sylla*, c. 6; cf. Sir G. C. Lewis, *Credibility, &c.* vol. ii. p. 124, note.

The condemnation of Spurius Cassius on suspicion of aiming at the regal power, the confiscation of his peculium, or private fortune, and the demolition of his house, the site of which was ordered to be kept vacant, are connected with the foundation of the TEMPLE OF TELLUS. That temple was, according to Cicero, built on the confiscated ground;[1] though from other authorities it might be inferred that this ground always remained unoccupied, and that the temple was erected on an adjoining spot. However this may be, it seems probable that though the house of Cassius was demolished in B.C. 485, the Ædes Telluris may not have been erected till B.C. 269. It appears to have been a building of some importance, since it was large enough to contain the assembled senate. It stood in the district called CARINÆ, at the south-western extremity of the Esquiline, probably near the church of S. Pantaleone in the Via del Colosseo.[2] Tellus was worshipped as one of the infernal powers, and in the third Samnite war we find Decius devoting himself by an act of self-immolation to Tellus and the Dii Manes.[3] The quarter surrounding the temple acquired the name of In Tellure, and several modern churches are still designated by it. The first bronze statue at Rome, dedicated to Ceres, is said to have been made out of the confiscated property of Cassius.[4]

While Rome in her early wars was for the most part triumphing over her enemies, and laying the foundations of her future power and glory, the daring enterprise of a handful of adventurers achieved what even the Gauls failed to accomplish, and struck a blow at her very heart.

[1] *Pro domo sua*, 38.

[2] Liv. ii. 41; Val. Max. v. 8, § 2; Suet. *De ill. Gramm.* 15; Serv. *ad Æn.* viii. 361.

[3] Liv. x. 28.

[4] Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 9 and 14.

A band of slaves and exiles, amounting to about 4,000, or not many more, and led by Herdonius, a Sabine, having descended the Tiber in boats in the dead of night, landed near the Capitoline Hill, apparently just beyond the wall which ran from that hill to the river, and where, as we have seen, its bank was unprotected. Hence Herdonius led his men towards the Forum and up the Capitoline clivus without meeting with any resistance till he arrived at the Porta Pandana, and here only from the guard; for as we have already mentioned this gate was always left open. The guard being overcome, the invaders proceeded up the hill, took possession of the Capitol and Arx, and called upon the slaves of Rome to strike for freedom. The origin of this daring attempt is involved in mystery. It may possibly have been organized by Kæso Quinctius, son of Cincinnatus, who was in exile; but that he took a personal share and perished in the enterprise, as Niebuhr, and after him Dr. Arnold, have assumed, there is not a tittle of evidence to show.[1] It was not possible that the attempt should be permanently successful, yet, from the dissensions then prevailing at Rome, it caused great embarrassment, and was only frustrated with the aid of the Tusculans. The Capitol was retaken by storm; Herdonius and many of his band were slain in the affray; the rest were captured and put to death.[2]

About this time occurs the celebrated story of L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, father of Kæso, being called from his plough in order to become dictator; which, however, is connected with the history of the city only by the circumstance that the fields which he was tilling, the PRATA QUINCTIA, were in its immediate neighbourhood. Becker

[1] See Sir G. C. Lewis, *Credibility, &c.* vol. ii. p. 169, note 12.

[2] Liv. iii. 15-18; Dionys. x. 14-16. Cf. art. *Roma*, p. 763 sq.

has the merit of having first pointed out their true situation. They lay on the right bank of the Tiber, apparently between the Castle of S. Angelo and a spot facing the Porto di Ripetta.[1]

The Aventine Hill appears to have undergone some changes about this period. In the year B.C. 456, the tribune Icilius carried a law for granting certain portions of the hill, which seem to have been still unoccupied and covered with wood, to plebeians, for building purposes. The land was accordingly divided, and the law was engraved on a bronze pillar, which appears to have been preserved in the time of Dionysius, in the Temple of Diana on the Aventine, and forms a valuable proof of the early Roman history.[2] Through this distribution, the Aventine became peculiarly the plebeian hill; a circumstance which receives some illustration from the story of Virginius. After stabbing his daughter on the Forum, near the shrine of Cluacina, and under the TABERNÆ NOVÆ, which must consequently have been now erected on the northern side of the Forum, opposite to those built by Tarquinius Priscus, Virginius, accompanied by about 400 followers, fled the city and gained the Roman camp at Mount Vecilius. The aspect of the centurion, yet stained with his daughter's blood, and his pathetic appeals to his fellow-soldiers, excited their sympathy and indignation, so that, heedless of their decemviral generals, they marched to Rome, and took post upon the Aventine. Their example was followed by another Roman army encamped at Fidenæ, which, marching through the Colline gate, established itself on

[1] Becker, *Röm. Alterthümer*, B. i. S. 159, and *De Muris*, p. 96. Cf. *Roma*, p. 835.

[2] ὅς (*νόμος*) ἐ σ τ ι ν ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ γεγραμμένος κ.τ.λ. Lib. x. c. 32. Liv. iii. 31.

the same hill; when each army elected ten military tribunes[1] (B.C. 549). It may be presumed therefore that, notwithstanding the Lex Icilia, the Aventine had not yet been much built upon.

It would be beside the scope of the present work to enter upon the political effects of these occurrences; but it should be mentioned here that the first secession of the plebeians to the Mons Sacer,[2] a hill beyond the Anio, about three miles from Rome,[3] an event rendered memorable by the well-known apologue of Menenius Agrippa of the belly and the members, is by some writers referred entirely to the Aventine, while others describe the people as occupying both that hill and the Mons Sacer in succession. Livy tells us[4] that Piso, the early Roman historian, held the first secession to have been made to the Aventine; but that he himself followed the more generally accepted tradition which referred it to the Mons Sacer. Sallust, however, follows Piso,[5] while Cicero appears to waver between the two traditions.[6] By the second secession brought about by Virginius the

[1] Liv. iii. 49-51; Dionys. xi. 38-43.

[2] Dionysius ascribes the epithet "sacer" to an altar which the plebeians erected on it to Ζεὺς Δειμάτιος. This epithet of Jupiter may perhaps be translated by "terrificus," or the god who inspires fear: in memory of the fears which they experienced on the occasion (vi. 90).

[3] After leaving Rome by the Porta Pia, following the Via Nomentana, and crossing the Anio by an ancient bridge surmounted by a tower of the middle ages, a lengthened hill is perceived divided by the road. The whole of this hill is the Mons Sacer. Ampère, *Hist. Rom. à Rome*, t. ii. p. 380.

[4] Lib. ii. c. 32. Yet in another place (iii. 54) Livy adverts to the Aventine as the place where the plebeians had founded their liberties —"ubi prima initia inchoastis libertatis vestræ."

[5] *Jug.* c. 31.

[6] See *De Rep.* ii. 33; *De Leg.* iii. 8; *Brutus*, c. 14.

tribunate was restored; and we then find the tribunes holding an assembly of the *plebs* in the PRATA FLAMINIA, situated under the Capitoline Hill, at the southern extremity of the Campus Martius. These meadows, therefore, must have become public property; and indeed they, or at least a part of them, appear to have been already consecrated to Apollo, and called the APOLLINARE. A few years afterwards, a Temple of Apollo was erected near this site, which was dedicated by the consul C. Julius, B.C. 430. It had been voted in propitiation of a pestilence; for Apollo, as we know from Homer,[1] was believed to be the author of such calamities. This temple, which was large enough for assemblies of the senate, was the only one at Rome dedicated to Apollo before the reign of Augustus.[2]

The story of the equestrian demagogue, Sp. Mælius, who endeavoured for purposes of ambition to ingratiate himself with the populace by buying up corn and distributing it among them in a year of scarcity (B.C. 440), is connected with the history of the city. The patricians caused Mælius to be put to death, and his house to be razed. The site of it was afterwards kept vacant, and obtained the name of the ÆQUIMÆLIUM. It was close under the southern foot of the Capitoline, and between that hill and the Vicus Jugarius which wound round it; consequently in or near the modern *Via del Monte Tarpeo*. In later times it appears to have become a market-place, appropriated to the sale of lambs.[3]

The long struggle between Rome and Veii affords

[1] *Iliad*, A. 45 sqq. The arrows of Diana had the same effect. Cf. Strabo, xiv. 1, § 6.

[2] Liv. iii. 63, iv. 25, 29.

[3] Liv. iv. 16, xxxviii. 28; Varro, *L. L.* v. § 157; Dionys. xii. in *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* t. ii. p. xxxi. sqq. (ed. Didot).

many notices respecting the former city. The fatal expedition of the Fabian family to the Cremera, where all to the number of 306 men together with their retainers were cut off, procured for the right-hand arch of the Carmental gate, by which they had left Rome, the name of the PORTA SCELERATA. The Veientines were enabled by this success, and by their subsequent defeat of Menenius, to occupy the Janiculum, from which, however, they were soon afterwards driven.[1] A peace of many years now ensued between Rome and Veii; which, however, was interrupted, in B.C. 438, by the inhabitants of Fidenæ, a Roman colony, revolting, and putting themselves under the protection of Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii. The Veientines were defeated in a decisive battle, and Tolumnius was killed by the hand of A. Cornelius Cossus, who was either consul or a military tribune.[2] Cossus dedicated the spoils of Tolumnius in

[1] Liv. ii. 49 sqq.; Dionys. ix. 19 sqq.; Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 201 sqq.

[2] This was a disputed point. All the Roman annalists affirmed that Cossus was only a military tribune. Livy followed them in his first account; but subsequently he heard that Augustus Cæsar had seen, in the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, the linen breast-plate of Tolumnius; and that the inscription on it purported that Cossus was consul. It does not appear that Livy heard this from Augustus himself, as some historians assert (Liddell's *Rome*, p. 138, sm. ed.; Lewis, *Credibility, &c.* ii. 276), but merely by report. He deferred, however, to the imperial witness, and concluded that Cossus must have been consul. The question is involved whether *spolia opima* could be won by a subordinate officer. Livy decides for the negative; but is thus compelled to make some awkward attempts to find another year in which to place the battle. Augustus had a personal interest in the question. In his fourth consulship, M. Crassus had slain with his own hand Deldo, king of the Bastarnæ; but though Crassus commanded the Roman army, he was not permitted to bear off the *spolia opima*, the victory having been achieved under the auspices of the consul (Dion Cass. lib. li. c. 24). The matter does not appear to

the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius. They were the first *spolia opima* carried thither since the temple had been founded on a like occasion by Romulus; and such were the glory and novelty of the act, that, as Cossus bore along the arms of Tolumnius, the eyes of all were diverted from the triumphal chariot of the dictator, Mamercus Æmilius, to gaze upon him.[1]

It was at this period that the VILLA PUBLICA was erected in the Campus Martius, at a spot between the subsequent Septa and the Circus Flaminius, and consequently near the present Palazzo di Venezia. The censors, C. Furius Pacilus and M. Geganius Macerinus, examined and approved it B.C. 431, and the census was first taken in it in that year. The building, as its name implies, was also used for other public business which could not be transacted within the city walls; as the levying of troops, the reception of foreign ambassadors before they obtained an audience of the senate, and of victorious generals awaiting a decree for a triumph.[2]

At a later period we find the struggle with Veii brought into connection with the draining of the Alban Lake, with which, to ordinary apprehension, it had about as much to do as Tenterden steeple with the Goodwin Sands. An Etruscan aruspex had affirmed that Veii would never be taken till the lake had been drained; and his *dictum* had been confirmed by the oracle of Delphi. The senate had doubtless resorted to the supernatural to

have been so ruled in more ancient times; for Varro says that even a common soldier might gain *spolia opima* (in Festus, v. *Opima*, p. 189). The inscription on the breast-plate might have been hardly legible, and the imperial eyes did not perhaps scrutinize too closely.

[1] Liv. iv. 17-20; Dionys. lib. xii. *Fragm.* 2.

[2] Liv. iv. 22, xxx. 21, xxxiii. 24; Varr. *R. R.* iii. 2.

persuade the people to undertake a necessary work;[1] and the wonderful emissary was constructed which still exists. Let us take it as a proof of what the Romans were capable of doing in those early days in the way of building and engineering. Veii was soon after taken (B.C. 396) by M. Furius Camillus, the dictator. He is said to have captured the city by means of a mine, which was pierced to the Temple of Juno in the citadel. The mine and the emissary may possibly be connected; one may have suggested the other. The Veientine Juno consented to be removed to Rome, where, under the title of JUNO REGINA, Camillus founded a famous temple to her on the Aventine, and dedicated it four years after, or B.C. 392. Its precise situation is uncertain, but it probably lay at the northern extremity of the Aventine, as the approach to it was by the CLIVUS PUBLICIUS.[2] This Clivus obtained its name from the ædiles L. and M. Publicius, who, however, perhaps only improved it. The same ædiles also erected a TEMPLE OF FLORA on the Aventine, and instituted floral games in honour of that divinity.[3]

Camillus, at the same time that he founded the Temple of Juno, also dedicated that of MATER MATUTA. He celebrated his triumph with a splendour that had never before been seen at Rome. Either Tarquinius Priscus in his triumph over the Sabines, or Publicola, is thought to have been the first who entered the Capitol in a quadriga.[4] The most memorable previous triumph, though still apparently a simple one compared with

[1] Liv. v. 15-19; Cic. *Div.* ii. 32; Plut. *Cam.* 3 sq.

[2] Liv. v. 21 sqq., xxvii. 37; Dionys. xiii. 3.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 49; Ov. *Fast.* v. 283 sqq. The cave of Cacus was reputed to have been near the Clivus Publicius and Porta Trigemina. Solinus, i. 8.

[4] Liv. i. 38; Plut. *Rom.* 16.

those of later days, was that of the dictator, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, over the Æqui (B.C. 455). The captured generals of the enemy were led before his chariot, which was also preceded by the military standards; whilst behind it followed the army loaded with booty. Feasts were prepared before all the houses, the partakers of which also followed the chariot singing a triumphal song, and uttering the usual jokes.[1] The spectacle must have been a splendid one, nor can even our modern notions find much to object to these triumphs, except the cruel and ungenerous practice of putting to death the captured generals after the eyes of the populace had been satiated with the pompous exhibition of their misfortune. In the case of Camillus, the people did not wait for his entry into the city; all ranks of men went out to meet him; yet, though the spectacle was enjoyed, it created some envy and ill-will. The magnificence of the pageant was thought to be too great, not only for a citizen but even for a mortal. The dictator entered Rome in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which, it was said, was nothing less than a profane and wicked emulation of the cars of Jupiter and Sol. His victory, however, was no mean achievement, and deserved an extraordinary triumph; for Veii is described as having excelled Rome, as well by its situation as by the beauty and magnificence both of its public and private buildings.[2]

We are now arrived at a fatal and humiliating epoch in the history of the city. Rome was destined to fall for a while into the power of the northern barbarians; to rise, indeed, with fresh splendour, till, after the expiration of exactly eight centuries, she was again to suffer the same humiliation. Into the history and movements

[1] Liv. iii. 29.

[2] Liv. v. 23.

of the Gauls previously to their appearance before Rome it belongs not to this work to inquire. However they may have been led thither, it appears certain that in the year B.C. 390 vast hosts of these barbarians, amounting, it is said, to 70,000 men, directed their march upon Rome, and defeated the Roman army, consisting of only about 24,000 men, at a small stream called the Allia, ten or eleven miles distant from the city. The Romans were entirely routed, many were killed or drowned, a portion of their left wing sought refuge in the recently captured town of Veii, while the small remainder of the army, panic-stricken, fled hastily to Rome, nor halted till they had shut themselves up in the Capitol, leaving the rest of the city and its gates totally defenceless. Before sunset on the same day—it was the middle of July—the van of the Gallic host appeared at the Porta Collina. But the very despair of the Romans proved a temporary security. The Gauls, finding the gate open and undefended, suspected an ambush, and retired for the night to a spot between the Anio and the Tiber.

Meanwhile Rome was filled with consternation. The streets and roads were crowded with the flying citizens, who especially directed their course over the Sublician bridge to seek refuge in the Janiculum. But, even in this extremity of misfortune and fear, religion asserted its influence over the minds of the devout Romans. The Vestal virgins and the Flamen Quirinalis having buried some of the sacred utensils of their worship at a place in the Forum Boarium, which from this circumstance was afterwards consecrated under the name of DOLIOLA,[1] were proceeding with the remainder up the ascent of the Janiculum, when being observed by a plebeian

[1] Liv. v. 40; Val. Max. i. 1, 10; Varro, *L. L.* v. § 157.

named L. Albinius, he caused his wife and children to descend from the waggon in which he was conveying them from the city, placed in it the holy virgins, and conducted them in safety to Cære.

The senators and dignified patricians, and some of the more aged plebeians, had been left behind to their fate; or rather the former had deemed it incompatible with the honourable posts which they filled to abandon the city and their duties by an ignoble flight. By some it was related that they had even solemnly devoted themselves to death for the sake of their country, by repeating after M. Fabius, the Pontifex Maximus, a form of prayer devised for the occasion. And then they took their seats in the vestibules of their houses,[1] wearing their senatorial and their consular robes, and bearing in their hands the ivory sceptres which were the badges of their dignity: and thus they tranquilly awaited the approach of the enemy. It was not long deferred. The Gauls entered Rome the next day after the battle.[2]

[1] Florus (i. 13) and Ovid (*Fasti*, vi. 363 sq.) agree with Livy, that the old men were killed in the *atria* of their houses. Plutarch, however, says (*Cam.* 21) that they were seated on the Forum in their curule chairs, which would have been an ostentatious and ridiculous position. We are unable to understand Sir G. C. Lewis' difficulty (vol. ii. p. 343) how the act of Papirius should have led to the slaughter of all the other senators if they had been sitting in their houses. Livy does not say that the slaughter was *immediate*.

[2] Such is the account of Livy (v. 39). The historian, however, is accused of inconsistency by Sir G. C. Lewis; who charges him with in one place representing a day as intervening between the battle and the entry of the city, and in another place with stating that those events were on successive days, (*Credibility, &c.* vol. ii. p. 326). The charge arises from the misconstruing of the critic. Livy says that the shouts of the Gauls when they had arrived at the city on the first day kept the Romans in suspense *till the following* morning (usque ad lucem alteram). First they concluded there would be an

They were at first struck with astonishment and awe at beholding the consuls and senators in their embroidered robes sitting tranquil and unmoved with a majesty that seemed almost divine. At length, one more insolent than his fellows, having ventured to stroke the beard of M. Papirius, received a violent blow from the insulted senator. This act provoked an indiscriminate slaughter; the senators were first killed, then all the other citizens that could be found; after which the houses were plundered and set on fire.

The amount of destruction caused by the flames is an important question for the history of the city, but one not very easy of solution. It must no doubt have been very extensive, though we should not, perhaps, take literally the rhetorical descriptions of the historians. Livy says in one place that the whole town was destroyed ("etsi *omnia* flammis ac ruinis æquata vidissent," v. 42), and in another only half of it ("instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur, in *semirutæ* solo urbis," *ib.* 49). It may be presumed that the Gauls would have spared part of the town for their own sakes. The private houses were probably slightly constructed and roofed with shingles, as they continued to be down to the war with Pyrrhus,[1] and hence the fire may probably have

immediate attack: why else should the enemy have left the Allia? Then about sunset they thought they should surely be attacked before night; and when that did not happen, they imagined that the assault had been deferred till night and darkness should render it more terrible. Livy thus explains how the minds of the Romans were kept in suspense during the afternoon, evening, and night of the *first day;* and the "lux appropinquans" is not the *second* day after the battle, as Sir G. C. Lewis says, but the *first*. Therefore Livy is perfectly consistent when in c. 41 (not 51) "he speaks of the Gauls entering the city 'postero die' after the battle."

[1] Corn. Nepos, ap. Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 15.

destroyed a great part of them. But it is known that some at least of the temples and public buildings escaped, since we read in Livy[1] of the senate meeting in the Curia Hostilia after the fire; and such, perhaps, was also the case with several temples on the Aventine and other places, in which were preserved down to the imperial times treaties and other public muniments which had been made before the fire. The Capitol with its temples was also of course preserved from the flames, since it was held by the Roman soldiers. Hence it follows that a considerable number of records must have been preserved. The Vestal virgins also appear to have secured some of the books of Numa, pertaining to religion, by burying them in the Doliola, and other objects of the same kind were conveyed to neighbouring towns.[2]

The Gauls, being repulsed in an assault upon the Capitoline hill, turned the siege into a blockade. Nevertheless, C. Fabius Dorso contrived to pass their sentinels in order to perform an hereditary family sacrifice on the Quirinal, and to return without molestation. The Gauls now felt the ill effects of their barbarous act in burning the city, by which a great quantity of provisions had been destroyed; and they were consequently obliged to send a large part of their force to scour the surrounding country and procure the means of subsistence for the army. Having observed, however, that the Capitoline Hill was tolerably easy of access at its southern extremity near the Carmental gate, to which point their attention is said to have been drawn by the footmarks of a messenger between the Romans who had fled to Veii and those on the Capitol, the Gauls attempted a surprise in

[1] v. 55.

[2] Varro, *L. L.* v. § 157; Liv. v. 51.

that quarter. So stealthily was it effected that neither the sentinels nor even the dogs were alarmed; but the sacred geese of Juno, which, even in that dearth of provisions, the garrison had abstained from eating, gave notice by their cackling of the approach of the enemy. Manlius, a consular, now rushed from his house in the Arx, and cast down a Gaul who had already gained the summit; the man in his fall overthrew several who were following him; and the Romans, being now completely roused, easily repulsed their assailants.

After the Gauls had beleaguered the Capitol more than six months, famine at length compelled the Roman garrison to capitulate. The Gauls themselves had indeed also suffered severely; numbers of them had perished from pestilence and want of food, and their bodies, being collected together, were burnt either by themselves or by the Romans after the recovery of the city, at a spot which obtained the name of Busta Gallica.[1] By a decree of the senate—for we must suppose that a new senate had been organized on the Capitol—the military tribune, Q. Sulpicius, was authorized to treat with Brennus, the Gallic leader, who consented to evacuate Rome on receiving 1,000 pounds of gold. Such, observes Livy, was the ransom of a people who were soon afterwards to rule the earth. The scales were set up, the gold produced; but when Sulpicius complained that the weights were false, the insolent Gaul threw his sword into the scale, with the exclamation, intolerable to Roman ears, Væ victis! "Woe to the conquered!"[2]

At this critical juncture Camillus appears upon the scene. He had been appointed dictator by the Romans

[1] Varro, *L. L.* v. § 157. [2] Liv. v. 48.

at Veii, with the consent of the senate on the Capitol, which had been obtained through Pontius Cominius, the messenger already alluded to; and he appeared at Rome with his forces before the disgraceful bargain could be completed by the delivery of the gold. He rejected the compact made by Sulpicius as unsanctioned by himself, the superior magistrate; drove the Gauls from Rome in a hasty skirmish; overtook them again at the eighth mile-stone on the road to Gabiæ; engaged them in a more regular battle, and exterminated their whole host, so that not a man was left to tell the disaster. Such is the account given by Livy,[1] which appears to have been generally received among the Romans. He may perhaps have adopted the most striking version of the story, just as he makes the Sabine women rush in between the combatants, in preference to representing them as going on an embassy; but the main point is whether Camillus, in whatever manner, recovered the gold. Livy is followed, with some minor variations, by Plutarch,[2] Appian,[3] and Eutropius.[4] Diodorus also mentions the payment of the thousand pounds of gold to the Gauls, and its recovery by Camillus; not however at Rome, but at some other place which cannot be identified.[5] Polybius mentions nothing about Camillus; but his account is inconsistent. In one passage he represents the Gauls as abandoning Rome after making a treaty with the Romans; while in another it is stated that they gave up the city without entering into any conditions whatsoever.[6] Suetonius

[1] Lib. v. c. 49.
[2] *Camill.* 29.
[3] *Hist. Rom.* iv. 1.
[4] i. 20.
[5] xiv. 116, 117.
[6] See ii. 18 and 22. The former passage is perhaps alluded to by Strabo, vi. 4, § 2.

mentions a report that Livius Drusus, a maternal ancestor of the Emperor Tiberius, recovered in Gaul—more than a century after!—the money paid for the redemption of Rome,[1] which must therefore have been carried off; but can so absurd a rumour be placed against the weight of testimony in favour of Camillus? Drusus may perhaps have extorted money from the Gauls under such a pretence; or the report may have been invented to flatter Tiberius. It is hardly worth while to sift the testimony of such writers as Justin, Frontinus, and Polyænus; some of whom, however, are not at variance with the commonly received account.

The current tradition is strongly confirmed by an anecdote of Crassus, told by Pliny the elder.[2] In his second consulship with Pompey, B.C. 55, Crassus carried away from the throne of the Capitoline Jupiter, where it had been concealed by Camillus, 2,000 pounds of gold, half of which had been given to the Gauls as ransom, and the other half plundered by them from the Roman temples. That Crassus took this gold cannot be doubted, unless we are to reject all ancient testimony in a lump. The act was done in the historical times, and the abstraction of so large a sum could not have failed to be recorded in the proper registers. Whether it had been dedicated by Camillus might admit of more question. Sir G. C. Lewis allows[3] that the passage in Pliny "proves that 2,000 pounds of gold were actually taken from this temple by Crassus, and that it was currently believed to have been the deposit of Camillus." But Pliny says nothing of a "current belief." He states that the gold was placed there by Camillus. It may be presumed that

[1] *Tiber.* iii.

[2] *H. N.* xxxiii. 5. Some edd. omit the name of Crassus.

[3] *Credibility, &c.* vol. ii. p. 336.

so valuable an anathema would not have been left unrecorded; and as the temple was not burnt by the Gauls, such a record might at least have existed till the first destruction of the temple by fire in B.C. 83, and therefore till the historical times, when its purport must have been duly remembered. The gold being doubtless preserved in a repository under the throne, like the vault in which Sulpicius subsequently consecrated some gold also conquered from the Gauls,[1] the inscription as well as the gold may have escaped the action of the fire.

Livy's account of this gold is consistent with that of Pliny, except that he states that the amount over and above the sum paid to the Gauls was not recovered from the plunder which they had perpetrated, but had been carried in the first alarm of their invasion from other temples, and placed in that of Jupiter. Livy, however, is here charged by Sir G. C. Lewis with being obscure and confused. "Everything," he observes, "which concerns the Gallic gold is, however, in a state of confusion and obscurity. Livy first states that this gold had been collected from various temples; but he adds that when the quantity in the public treasury was insufficient, the matrons contributed their golden ornaments, in order that the sacred gold might not be violated: whereas, a few lines before, he had stated that the gold was taken from the temples." Now this is altogether a misconception of Livy's words. He does not say that *this gold*, that is, the gold paid to the Gauls, had been collected from various temples. What he really says is as follows: "The gold which had been recovered from the Gauls, and that which during the alarm (inter trepidationem) had been taken from other temples, and placed in the cell of Jove, as it

[1] "Auri satis magnum pondus, saxo quadrato sæptum, in Capitolio sacravit."—Liv. vii. 15.

was not exactly known to what temples it should be restored, was all adjudged to be sacred, and was buried under the throne of the deity. The religious feelings of the people had been already manifested by the circumstance that, as there was not enough gold *in the public treasury* to make up the sum agreed to be paid to the Gauls, that contributed by the matrons had been accepted in order that the sacred gold might not be touched."[1] Nothing can be clearer than this statement, and it is only surprising how it should occasion any confusion. Not an ounce of the gold paid to the Gauls had been taken from the temples. On the contrary, Livy expressly says that the sacred gold was spared; that the necessary sum was taken from the treasury, so far as that supply went, and the deficiency made good by the contributions of the matrons. When the gold thus procured, *wholly from profane sources*, was recaptured, it was declared sacred, like the other gold before conveyed into the temple. It was this other gold, then, already sacred, and the recovered ransom, afterwards consecrated, which made up the 2,000 lbs. weight mentioned by Pliny.

Sir G. C. Lewis finds a further difficulty as to this gold in another passage of Livy,[2] where Manlius is described as complaining of its embezzlement by the patricians. He makes Livy say that the gold had been raised by a general property tax, and then proceeds to observe that it "is difficult to understand how the Romans enclosed in the Capitol could, after the burning of the city and the dispersion of the population, have either obtained golden ornaments from the matrons or levied a general tax upon the citizens."[3] But by the words "tributo

[1] Lib. v. c. 50.

[2] Lib. vi. c. 14.

[3] *Credibility, &c.* vol. ii. p. 352.

collatio facta," Livy alludes only to the contribution of the matrons. We must remember that Manlius is trying to make out a bad case against the patricians—" omisso discrimine vera an vana jaceret ; " and the historian, in order, no doubt, to put his statement in the strongest light, uses the word " tribute " of the offerings of the matrons ; which indeed they virtually were, since, as we shall presently see, they were repaid out of the public money. The difficulty is still more trivial about the possibility of obtaining this contribution from the matrons. Livy tells us that a great part of them had followed their male relations to the citadel.[1] Many of them were doubtless the wives, sisters, or daughters of the senators or consulars who had refused to fly ; most of them were probably patrician, and may be supposed to have carried with them into the citadel the golden ornaments then so universally worn. They were afterwards repaid the value of them out of the proceeds of a sale of Etruscan prisoners taken by Camillus ;[2] but the original gold they had contributed, having been consecrated to Jupiter after its recovery, was still in his temple, unless Manlius' charge of peculation was true ; and it is to this gold, " ex hostibus captum," that Livy alludes in his fourteenth chapter.

The reader must determine for himself whether Sir G. C. Lewis has arrived at a sound conclusion in allowing that some of the minute details of the Gallic occupation of Rome, " such as the alarm given by the geese, the removal of the Vestal virgins in the waggon of Albinius, and the sacrifice of Fabius, may have been faithfully preserved by tradition," though one of the great

[1] " Magna tamen pars earum in arcem suos prosecutæ sunt."—v. 40.

[2] " *Pretio pro auro* matronis persoluto."—Liv. vi. 4.

outlines of the history, the share, if any, which Camillus bore in the liberation of his country, remains an enigma.[1] For ourselves, we must confess our opinion that if tradition or the pontifical scribes, preserved or recorded the minor incidents of the story, which, in fact, were the most likely to be invented, they would, *a fortiori*, have handed down the greater ones of so striking and unparalleled an event in the fortunes of Rome. It is possible, indeed, that Livy, for the sake of effect, may have inserted in his account of these events some minor details which cannot be proved to have really happened: such, for instance, as the appearance of Camillus at the very moment when the gold was in the scales. This, however, should not be allowed to invalidate his general statement that Camillus defeated the Gauls, and recovered from them the gold which they had exacted. This is the *substance* of the story; the rest belongs only to the *manner* of the writer. If we should reject every account worked up by historians with theatrical effect, we should reject much that is substantially true. Even in recent times, for example, Maria Theresa has been described as presenting her infant son to the Hungarian diet at Pressburg, and by this means winning their sympathy and aid. Recent researches have proved this account to be incorrect, and made up by throwing the proceedings of several days into one;[2] yet nobody can doubt that the Austrian queen really appeared at Pressburg and obtained the support of the Magyars. Numerous instances of the same kind will strike every reader.

After all, however, it is by no means improbable that

[1] *Credibility, &c.* vol. ii. p. 355.

[2] See my *Hist. of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 101.

the event occurred just as Livy tells it. Truth is sometimes stranger than fiction, and the instinct of doubt often falls short of the reality of fact. Doubt is only a form of suspicion; and though suspicion, under proper control, is no doubt a useful thing, yet there is scarce a feeling of the human mind more liable to overrun its proper boundaries. The share of Camillus in the transactions in question is confirmed by Livy's account[1] of his dedicating three golden *paterœ*, inscribed with his name, to Juno out of the surplus of his Etruscan spoils, after paying the matrons: which *paterœ* were extant in B.C. 83, and consequently in the time of Livy's father.

[1] Lib. vi. 4.

SECTION II.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF ROME BY THE GAULS TO THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

WE now enter upon a new period of Roman history. Events, Livy observes, become clearer and more certain; he is no longer obliged critically to select them, and thus to compress, as he has hitherto done, the history of nearly four centuries into five books, but is able to give his narrative a freer course.[1]

Camillus, after destroying the Gauls, returned with his army to Rome; the fugitive citizens came back in great numbers, and the city began to reassume the appearance at least of population. But on every side ruin and desolation met their eyes. Their houses had not only vanished, but even the sites of them could no longer be recognized: and in this desolate state the plebeians and their tribunes began to agitate a scheme of emigration to Veii, where everything was ready for their reception. Camillus exerted all his eloquence to divert them from this project, and exhausted every argument that might induce them to remain. He appealed especially to their religious feelings, and painted in the strongest colours the infamy of deserting their temples, their gods, and their ancient hereditary sacrifices. But though this part of his speech made a great impression,

[1] Lib. vi. c. 1 *init.*

it would perhaps have failed of its effect had it not been supported by one of those omens which had always a powerful influence on the superstitious minds of the Romans. Soon after Camillus' address to the people, the senate had assembled in the Curia Hostilia to debate the subject, and the plebeian crowd had gathered around it to learn the result of their deliberations. It happened at this juncture that a company of soldiers were passing over the Forum; and when they had reached the Comitium, close to which the Curia Hostilia was situated, their centurion, whether by chance or design, gave the command, "Ensign, plant the standard here; this is the best place for a halt." At these words the senate issued from the Curia, exclaiming that they accepted the omen; and the plebeians, moved by the same voice, shouted their approbation.[1] Such were the trivial incidents which sometimes decided at Rome the most important affairs of state.

Camillus, aware of this characteristic, had first turned his attention to matters of religion. He procured a decree of the senate for purifying and restoring all the temples which had been in the possession of the enemy; for giving citizens of Cære the rights of public hospitality in return for their having sheltered the Roman priests and their sacred utensils; and for celebrating Capitoline games in honour of Jupiter, the saviour of his own temple and of the Roman citadel.[2] A neglected warning of the gods had also to be expiated. Just before the appearance of the Gauls, a plebeian named M. Cædicius had reported to the tribunes that in the dead of night, being in the Nova Via, just above the Temple of Vesta, he had been commanded by a superhuman voice

[1] Liv. v. 50-55.

[2] *Ibid.* 50.

to announce to the magistrates the approach of the Gauls;[1] but as they were a people remote and little known, and he who announced their coming a man of humble birth, the warning had been unheeded. To expiate this neglect, an altar was ordered to be consecrated to AIUS LOCUTIUS, or the announcing voice, at the spot where it had been heard.[2]

A TEMPLE OF MARS, vowed in the Gallic war, it does not appear by whom, was also erected near the Via Appia, at the distance of almost two miles from the Porta Capena, and was dedicated by the duumvir sacris faciundis, T. Quinctius, in B.C. 387.[3] It appears to have stood on a hill, as we read of the Clivus Martis, and to have been approached by a portico from the Via Capena, which must almost have rivalled in length the celebrated portico at Bologna extending to the church of the Madonna di S. Luca.[4] It is mentioned above (p. 67).

The demands of religion being thus satisfied, attention was next turned to the rebuilding of the city. Tiles were furnished at the public expense; and the citizens were permitted to fell timber and quarry stone wherever they pleased, on their giving security that the houses should be finished within the year. But this provision proved detrimental. For in the hurry to get the buildings completed no care was taken about laying out the streets: every vacant place was built upon, without inquiry as to whom it belonged. The ground being thus seized, rather than regularly divided, the greatest confusion prevailed in the plan of the city, so that many of the private houses were even built over the sewers, the

[1] Liv. v. 32.
[2] Liv. v. 50; Cicero, *Div.* i. 45.
[3] Liv. vi. 5.
[4] Appian, *B.C.* iii. 41; Ov. *Fast.* vi. 191 sqq., et *ibi* Schol.

course of which had previously lain through the public thoroughfares and open places. The ædiles superintended the building operations, and took care that the prescribed condition was observed, so that by the end of the year a new city had risen up. Many Romans had migrated to Veii rather than undertake the labour of building at Rome, but were compelled to return, under pain of capital punishment. Thus the city became as large and well peopled as before;[1] and Camillus, from the part he had taken in reconstructing it, and preventing the emigration of the inhabitants, obtained the title of the second founder of Rome.[2]

The first event of much importance connected with the history of the city after its reconstruction, is the trial and condemnation of Manlius Capitolinus, the saviour of the Capitol. His name of Capitolinus, however, does not appear to have been derived from that event, as Plutarch[3] and others have assumed, since we read of an ancestor who had previously borne it:[4] and as it was also a surname of the Quinctian family,[5] it may probably have been adopted merely from a residence on the Capitoline Hill. Manlius was accused of sedition, and of aiming at the regal power. The Comitia Centuriata, before which he was arraigned, were held in the Septa or Ovile in that part of the Campus Martius called the Prata Flaminia; and probably lay somewhere between the Palazzo Doria and the Piazza di Minerva.[6] From this place, the intervening ground being then unoccupied with buildings, the Capitol and Arx were visible; and Manlius seized the opportunity to work upon the feelings

[1] Liv. vi. 4. [2] *Ibid.* vii. 1; Plut. *Cam.* i. 31.
[3] *Ibid.* 36. [4] Liv. iv. 42. [5] *Ibid.* 43, vii. 1.
[6] See Ampère, *Hist. Romaine à Rome*, t. ii. p. 325 note.

of the people by pointing to the temple and citadel which he had saved. The tribunes, to deprive him of this appeal, transferred the assembly to the Lucus Pœtelinus, just outside the Porta Flumentana; from which, as it lay close under the southern extremity of the hill, and as the view was obstructed by trees, the Capitoline temple was not visible.[1] Manlius was now condemned and hurled from the Tarpeian rock. His punishment was followed by a decree that no patrician should thenceforth reside upon the Capitoline Hill.[2] The house of Manlius appears also to have been razed, and thirty or forty years afterwards (B.C. 345) was erected upon its site the famous TEMPLE OF JUNO MONETA, in pursuance of a vow of the dictator L. Furius Camillus.[3]

Rome was not yet secure from the insults of her enemies. In B.C. 380 the Prænestines, relying on seditions which prevented the enrolling of a Roman army, appeared before the Colline gate and pitched their camp on the river Allia, where, however, they were defeated by the dictator T. Quinctius Cincinnatus.[4] The war ended with the capture of eight cities belonging to the Prænestines, and the surrender of Præneste itself; whence the triumphant dictator carried to Rome a statue of Jupiter Imperator, and dedicated it in the Capitol, between the cells of Jove and Minerva. The Gauls also reappeared in B.C. 367, and many battles with them ensued. In B.C. 361 they penetrated by the Salarian road to within three miles of Rome; and here it was that T. Manlius fought the single combat by which he earned the golden collar of his Gallic adversary, and the surname of Torquatus.

[1] I have adverted in the article *Roma*, p. 751, to the use which may be made of this account to determine the situation of the temple.

[2] Liv. vi. 20. [3] *Ibid.* vii. 28. [4] *Ibid.* vi. 28 sq.

It seems not improbable that the celebrated statue of the dying Gaul in the Capitoline Museum may have been suggested by this event. Next year the Gauls again appeared before the Colline gate, and other struggles took place with them in the neighbourhood of Rome down to the year B.C. 349; after which, we hear no more of them for half a century. It was in the last-named year that M. Valerius obtained the surname of Corvus or Corvinus, from being assisted by a raven in a single combat with a Gaul.[1]

After the final subjugation of Latium in B.C. 338, several Latin cities received the right of Roman citizenship, while others were treated with severity. The people of Antium, though they were admitted to the privilege of citizenship, were deprived of their fleet; part of their ships of war were carried up the Tiber to the Roman arsenal, and part were burnt. A *suggestum*, or raised place in the Forum, having been adorned with the beaks of those destroyed, and inaugurated as a temple, received the name of ROSTRA, and became the usual place whence orators addressed the people. The Rostra stood before the Curia Hostilia on or near the Comitium.[2] A victory of C. Mænius in this war was commemorated, according to Pliny, by the erection of a column on the Forum, called COLUMNA MÆNIA; the first example of such a monument at Rome.[3]

That love of the Romans for public life, who delighted

[1] Liv. vii. 26.

[2] Liv. viii. 14. "Ante hanc (Curiam Host.) Rostra, *cujus loci id vocabulum*, quod ex hostibus capta fixa sunt rostra."—Varr. *L. L.* v. 155. "Erant enim tunc Rostra non eo loco quo nunc sunt, sed ad Comitium prope juncta Curiæ."—Ascon. Cic. *Mil.* 5.

[3] Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 11. But Livy, viii. 13, calls the monument an equestrian statue. See below, p. 109, note 2.

in shows and festivals, in games, triumphs, and processions, in political and judicial deliberations held in the open air, manifested itself also even in the calamities which sometimes desolated Rome. Hence the practice of propitiating the gods during a pestilence by a Lectisternium; a custom first introduced in the pestilence with which the city was afflicted in B.C. 399. The statues of Apollo, Latona, and Diana, to whom the origin of pestilences was attributed, were laid upon couches during eight days; those of Hercules, Neptune, and Mercury, three.[1] The Romans, however, did not content themselves with this public ceremony. The doors were thrown open throughout the city; the use of all things was made common; everybody, whether an acquaintance or a stranger, was hospitably received; old enmities were reconciled, and quarrels and law-suits laid aside.[2] A still more singular mode of propitiation was adopted in the pestilence of B.C. 365. A lectisternium was for the third time celebrated; but as it proved of no effect, theatrical spectacles were introduced by way of appeasing the wrath of the gods. The only probable reason for adopting so strange a method seems to be, that, by diverting the minds of the people from pondering upon their calamities, they might obtain a better chance of escaping or throwing off the malady. On such occasions moral causes are not altogether without effect, and perhaps even the lectisternium itself might have been suggested by this reflection. Hitherto the only public spectacle had been the games of the circus; the entertainment now introduced from Etruria seems

[1] Hercules was regarded at Rome as the giver of health. Neptune, or the sea, was supposed to be connected with pestilence, and Mercury was probably propitiated as the conductor of the souls of men.

[2] Liv. v. 13.

to have been merely a sort of dance. The players, who were Etruscans, uttered not a word, nor imitated any action or story with their gestures; they only executed some graceful movements to the sound of pipes. This novel entertainment was received with great favour. The Roman youth began in a rude way to imitate the dancers, adding, however, some jocular verses, to which they adapted their movements; in fact, the old Fescennine verse, only more rhythmical, set to music, and accompanied with appropriate action. The Roman who practised this art was called *histrio*, from *hister*, the Tuscan name for a player. More than a century was to elapse before Livius Andronicus introduced the regular drama, as we shall have to relate further on. In fact, it may be doubted whether Horace's complaint—

> Jam *migravit* ab aure voluptas
> Omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana [1]—

is well founded. The Romans from the beginning preferred to be spectators rather than hearers, and among them the regular drama was never much more than an exotic entertainment. The introduction of the Etruscan *ludiones* did not, however, answer the purpose for which it was intended. The performance was interrupted by the Tiber inundating the circus; a sign of the divine displeasure which filled the Romans with consternation.[2]

Yet although this love for outdoor life and for magnificent spectacles would seem to indicate a cheerful disposition, many of the Roman customs show a gloomy and savage barbarity. Such were human sacrifices, and especially the mode of them by burying alive. This punishment was not restricted to unchaste Vestals,

[1] *Epp.* ii. 1, 187.

[2] Liv. vii. 2, 3.

though even in such a case it seems barbarous enough. In B.C. 337, the Vestal Minucia was condemned by the Pontifices, on the evidence of a slave, to be buried alive just inside the Porta Collina; for guilty Vestals still retained the privilege of interment within the walls. This is the first execution of the kind recorded by Livy,[1] but Dionysius mentions a former instance of Pinaria, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus.[2] The place where Minucia was buried, just under the northern extremity of the Servian agger, obtained the name of CAMPUS SCELERATUS. Such was the inquisition of those pagan days; luckily, however, unlike modern times, the victims were taken only from the priesthood. The younger Pliny has left us a touching picture of the dignified death of Cornelia, chief of the Vestals, condemned, though innocent, or at all events untried, by Domitian.[3] Other instances of interment alive were either acts of self-devotion, or were adopted, in remarkably disastrous conjunctures, in lieu of regular sacrifices.

An anecdote belonging to this period (B.C. 311) is of a more genial nature, and affords a glimpse of Roman manners in those times. The pipers, a jovial crew, fond of good eating and drinking, having been deprived by the censors of their ancient customary feast in the Temple of Jupiter, struck to a man and departed in a body to Tibur. Next day, lo! there was nobody to pipe before the sacrifices! The senate was perplexed. The pipers knew their value, and had hit the right nail; it was a matter of religion, and at Rome religion was the soul of the state. As in a case of the weightiest political importance, ambassadors were despatched to the Tiburtines to procure the restitution of the vagabond musicians.

[1] viii. 15. [2] ii. 67, iii. 67. [3] *Epp.* iv. 11.

But promises and exhortations were exhausted in vain till a plan was hit upon for securing the men by means of their characteristic failing. On a feast-day they were invited separately to dinner, on pretence of enlivening the meal with their music; they were plied with wine, till drunkenness, and next sleep, oppressed them, and in this state of double oblivion were bound, put into waggons, and conveyed to Rome. Great was their astonishment, on awaking next morning, to find themselves in the Forum! Terms were now made with them, and they were persuaded to remain, on condition that those who had piped at the sacrifices should enjoy their traditionary feast, and for three days every year should wander fantastically dressed, playing their music, through the streets of Rome; a custom which appears to have lasted till the Empire.[1] The sojourner in the modern city may find their counterparts in the pipers of the Abruzzi, who, during nine days before Christmas, pipe their wild discordant notes before every image of the Madonna.

The censorship of Appius Claudius Cæcus, B.C. 312, a memorable period in the history of the city, fell in the midst of the three Samnite wars, which lasted more than half a century (B.C. 343-290). While the surrounding country remained unsubjugated, the Romans could of course undertake no important works outside their gates. The existence of gates, indeed, implies the existence of roads of some kind or another; but it may be conjectured that they were originally of a wretched description, or, at all events, not to be compared with those solid and durable ways for the construction of which the later Romans were famous. The Latins had been completely subjugated in B.C. 338; and although,

[1] Liv. ix. 30.

in B.C. 312, danger was still to be apprehended from the Samnites, yet a good military road might prove of the greatest service in any future wars with that people.

The great Roman highways did not exceed fifteen feet in breadth, and were sometimes a foot or two less. In constructing them, the earth was excavated till a solid foundation was obtained, or, in swampy places, a foundation was made by driving piles. Over this, which was called the *gremium*, four courses or strata were laid; namely, the *statumen*, the *rudus*, the *nucleus*, and the *pavimentum*. The *statumen*, which rested on the *gremium*, consisted of loose stones of a moderate size. The *rudus*, or rubble-work, over this, about nine inches thick, was composed of broken stones, cemented with lime. The *nucleus*, half a foot thick, was made with pottery broken into small pieces, and also cemented with lime. Over all was the *pavimentum*, or pavement, consisting of large polygonal blocks of hard stone, and, particularly in the neighbourhood of Rome, of basaltic lava, nicely fitted together, so as to present a smooth surface. The road was somewhat elevated in the centre, to allow the water to run off, and on each side were raised footpaths covered with gravel. At certain intervals were blocks of stone, to enable a horseman to mount. Roads thus constructed were of such extraordinary durability, that portions of some more than a thousand years old are still in a high state of preservation.[1]

The VIA APPIA, leaving Rome by the Porta Capena, appears to have been first constructed in a direct line to Aricia; but, before the termination of Appius' censorship, it had been carried on as far as Capua. It was, no

[1] Respecting the Roman roads, see Bergier, *Hist. des grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain;* and Dean Ramsay's article *Viæ* in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities.*

doubt, improved in later times, and ultimately extended to Brundusium, and, from its length and beauty, obtained the name of Regina Viarum.[1] The Via Latina branched off from it on the left at a little distance from the Porta Capena, and, making a circuit by Ferentinum, again joined the Via Appia before it entered Capua. The Via Latina was also a very ancient road, but its date and origin are unknown. At a later period, which cannot be accurately determined, the distances along the roads were marked by the erection of milestones.

Appius Claudius Cæcus also constructed the first Roman aqueduct, which from him obtained the name of Aqua Appia. However useful this work may have been, it cannot be compared for extent and magnificence with some succeeding ones of the same description. Its sources were only between seven and eight miles from Rome, on the road to Prænestе, and it was conducted the whole way underground, till it arrived at the Porta Capena,[2] whence it was carried on arches to the Porta Trigemina, sixty *passus*, or 300 feet, and began to be distributed at the Clivus Publicius, on the Aventine.[3] Appius courted the populace, which was probably the reason why he favoured this plebeian quarter of the city with the use of the first aqueduct. In his second consulship, in the war with the Etruscans and Samnites, in B.C. 297, he is said to have vowed a Temple to Bellona.

[1] For a description of it, see Mr. Bunbury's article *Via Appia*, in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*.

[2] Hence the line of Juvenal:

Substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.

Sat. iii. 11.

[3] Frontinus, *De Aquæductibus*, is the chief ancient authority on the Roman aqueducts. See also Fabretti, *De Aquis et Aquæductibus veteris Romæ*.

The only temple of Bellona, which we know of at Rome, lay near the subsequent Circus Flaminius, in the Campus Martius; and, according to the testimony of Pliny, this temple was in existence two centuries earlier.[1] It is, however, plain, from numerous instances in Roman history, that the vow of a temple was frequently satisfied by the restoration of an ancient building instead of the erection of a new one. The temple served for assemblies of the senate outside of the Pomœrium; as, for instance, when they met to accord a triumph to a victorious general, to receive foreign ambassadors, and other similar occasions. Before it was an open space on which stood the COLUMNA BELLICA. From this spot the Fetialis, in the ceremony of declaring war, hurled a lance into a piece of ground, supposed to represent the enemy's territory, when it was not possible to do so on his actual frontiers.[2]

To the wife of Volumnius, the colleague of Appius Claudius in the consulship, appears to have been owing a small temple, or *sacellum*, of PUDICITIA PLEBEIA. Virginia, though married to the plebeian Volumnius, was herself of patrician race; yet the patrician matrons, holding that she had degraded herself by such a connection, excluded her from worshipping with them in the Temple of PUDICITIA PATRICIA, situated in the Forum Boarium; which temple may perhaps be still represented by the little church of Sta. Maria Egiziaca. Hereupon Virginia dedicated part of her own residence in the Vicus Longus, a street running between the Quirinal and Viminal hills, and answering to the modern Via di S. Vitale, for a chapel and altar of Pudicitia Plebeia. At this altar none but plebeian matrons of unimpeach-

[1] Liv. x. 19; Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 3.

[2] Serv. *ad Æn.* ix. 53; Dion. Cass. lxxi. 33.

able chastity, and who, like the worshippers in the older temple, had been married only to one husband, were allowed to sacrifice.[1]

The campaign of the Romans, in B.C. 295, against the Samnites, in which the latter people were assisted by the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, and the decisive Roman victory at Sentinum, nearly put an end to the Samnite wars, which continued but a few years longer. Further victories were gained by the Romans in B.C. 293 and 292; in 290, Samnium was invaded, when the Samnites submitted and sued for peace. Both consuls, Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius, received the honour of a triumph for their victory over the Samnites, in B.C. 293. The triumph of Papirius was one of the most splendid that had yet been seen at Rome. The army, both horse and foot, marched past, adorned with the rewards of their bravery, among which were conspicuous many civic and mural crowns, as well as those called *vallares*, for scaling the ramparts of the enemy's camp. The triumph was also graced by many distinguished captives, and a vast amount of money was deposited in the treasury.[2] From the armour taken from the sacred Samnite band a statue of Jupiter was made, and set up in the Capitol, of so enormous a size, according to Pliny, that it might be beheld by Jupiter Latiaris on Mons Albanus.[3]

The year B.C. 293 affords two or three other notable circumstances connected with the life of the Roman people. Papirius Cursor is said to have brought the first sundial to Rome in this year, and to have placed it

[1] Liv. x. 23.

[2] Liv. x. 46.

[3] *H. N.* xxxiv. 18. There is some doubt whether the statue was dedicated by Papirius or Carvilius.

before the Temple of Quirinus;[1] but, as it was not constructed for the latitude of Rome, it did not show the time correctly. This defect, however, does not appear to have been remedied for nearly a century afterwards, when Q. Marcius Philippus set up a correct dial. It was not till B.C. 159 that P. Scipio Nasica erected in his censorship a public clepsydra, which showed the lapse of time by the escape of water, a contrivance invented by the Greeks, and somewhat resembling the hourglass. It had the palpable advantage over the sundial of showing the time in the night and in cloudy weather. In the same year, on account of the victories achieved, the spectators of the Roman games are first said to have worn crowns or garlands on their heads; and the Greek custom was introduced of presenting the victors with a palm-branch. But these triumphs and successes were counterbalanced by a dreadful pestilence which ravaged the city this year. The Sibylline books, being consulted, directed that Æsculapius should be brought from Epidaurus to Rome. The consuls, however, were too much occupied that year with the war to do anything more than order a *supplicatio* for one day to Æsculapius. After the plague had lasted three years, ambassadors were at length despatched to Epidaurus, to bring the statue of the healing god to Rome. A snake, held to contain the deity himself, went on board the trireme with the statue, and, the vessel having touched for a short time at Antium, the snake made for the land, and proceeded to a temple of Æsculapius. After remaining there three days, coiled round a tall palm-tree, it re-embarked of its own accord, and, being carried up the Tiber to Rome, swam across the river to the Insula Tiberina,

[1] *H. N.* vii. 60.

where, in compliance with the manifest will of the god, a temple was erected to ÆSCULAPIUS. Although resorted to by invalids, the temple does not appear to have been connected with a hospital, like that at Epidaurus.[1]

The almost constant wars of the Romans with the people of Magna Græcia and other countries, with Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, and at last with Carthage, prevented much improvement at Rome during more than a century. Yet when Pyrrhus invaded Italy to assist the Tarentines against the Romans in B.C. 287, Rome, from its numerous public buildings, temples, and other monuments, must have already assumed an air of considerable grandeur; for his ambassadors reported to him that the whole city resembled a vast temple, and the senate appeared a council of gods.[2] The triumph of M. Curius Dentatus after the reduction of Tarentum was distinguished by some new features. Hitherto the triumphal car had been followed only by the flocks and herds of the Volscians or Sabines, the waggons of the Gauls, the broken arms of the Samnites; but now might be seen Molossians, Thessalians, and Macedonians, besides captives from Bruttium, Apulia, and Lucania, and gold, purple cloth, statues, pictures, and all the art and luxury of Tarentum, instead of brass and silver. What most struck the Romans, however, were the enormous elephants with their towers, formerly the objects of their fears, but which now, with bended neck and an apparent feeling of their captivity, docilely followed the victorious cavalry.[3]

The spoils won from Pyrrhus enabled Dentatus to

[1] Liv. x. 47, and *Epit.* xi.; Valer. Max. 1, 8, § 2; Ov. *Metam.* xv. 622 sqq.; Plin. *H. N.* xxix. 22.

[2] Florus, *Ep.* i. 18, § 20.

[3] Florus, *Ep.* i. 18, § 27 sq.

commence the aqueduct called ANIO VETUS, in B.C. 273. As its name implies, the water was taken from the Anio above Tibur, at the distance of 20 miles from Rome; but the route was so circuitous that the total length of the aqueduct was 43 miles. Like the Aqua Appia, the greater part of its course was underground, only 221 *passus*, or 1,105 feet, being upon arches.[1] Remains of it are still extant near the present Porta Maggiore.

The victory of C. Duillius over the Carthaginian fleet, off Mylæ in Sicily, in the first Punic war (B.C. 260), the first great naval triumph of the Romans, was signalized by the erection of a pillar in the Forum, called, from its being ornamented with the beaks of the captured vessels, the "COLUMNA ROSTRATA." It stood on the Comitium, and the base of it has been discovered near the Arch of Severus.[2] During the same war, L. Cornelius Scipio, the captor of Aleria, in Sardinia, and admiral of the Roman fleet, erected outside the Porta Capena, and near the Temple of Mars, a temple to Tempestas, in commemoration of the narrow escape of his fleet from shipwreck off that island.[3]

The end of the first Punic war enabled the Romans to shut the Temple of Janus, B.C. 235, the first occasion of its being closed since the reign of Numa; soon, however, to be reopened, and not to be shut again till after the battle of Actium.[4]

Some important works were undertaken in the period between the first and second Punic wars. C. Flaminius, who was censor in B.C. 220, began to construct the great highway called after him VIA FLAMINIA. This was the

[1] Front. *Aq.* 5.
[2] Serv. *ad Georg.* iii. 29; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 11.
[3] Inscrip. on his tomb; and Ov. *Fast.* vi. 192 sq.
[4] Liv. i. 19.

great northern road of Italy, as the Via Appia was the main southern outlet from Rome. Leaving the city by the Porta Ratumena, the Via Flaminia proceeded through the Campus Martius nearly on the same line, but a little to the east, of the modern Corso, passing subsequently through the Porta Flaminia of the Aurelian walls, at a little distance from the present Porta del Popolo. At about three miles from the Porta Ratumena, it crossed the Tiber by the Pons Milvius, and proceeded on to Ariminum (Rimini), a distance of 210 miles. This road, the construction of which became possible through the submission of Etruria and Umbria, facilitated operations against the Gauls.

The same censor constructed the CIRCUS FLAMINIUS, in the fields called PRATA FLAMINIA at the southern extremity of the Campus Martius. The carceres of the Circus, or starting-place of the chariots, were at no great distance from the Capitoline Hill, while its circular end lay towards the river. Hence it must have occupied the sites of the present Palazzo Mattei, the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, and the church of Sta. Caterina de' Funari, where traces of it are said to have existed in the sixteenth century.[1] After the construction of this Circus, meetings of the people previously held in the Prata Flaminia were transferred to it.[2] Close by was the OVILE, or place for holding the Comitia Centuriata, which in early times was surrounded with a rude fence, resembling a sheepfold, whence its name.[3] In the Circus were exhibited the Ludi Plebeii and the Ludi Sæculares, called also Taurii, or Tarentini, from a place in the Campus Martius bearing the name of Tarentum,

[1] Lucio Fauno, *Ant. di Roma*, lib. iv. c. 23.
[2] Liv. xxvii. 21; Cic. *ad Att.* i. 14.
[3] Liv. xxvi. 22; Juv. *Sat.* vi. 528.

which had a subterranean Ara Ditis Patris et Proserpinæ. We may here add that it was only a few years previously (B.C. 228) that carceres for starting the chariots had been erected at the Circus Maximus.[1]

But Flaminius, who had adorned and improved Rome by these noble and useful works, became the involuntary instrument of her disgrace. The second Punic war broke out in B.C. 218, and the Romans had to struggle for existence against the greatest captain of any age. Hannibal, after passing the Alps and gaining several victories, directed his march upon Rome. Prodigies which had filled the Romans with alarm had to be averted by various expiations; a lectisternium, a sacrifice at the Temple of Saturn, and a public feast, were celebrated; the Saturnalia were proclaimed day and night through the city, and the people were directed to observe that time as a perpetual festival. Flaminius, who was now consul, and whose rashness and democratic principles led him to oppose old patrician forms and traditions, alarmed at the rapid approach of Hannibal, hastily quitted Rome on pretence of a private journey, without having taken the auspices or celebrated the Latin fêtes, and he refused to listen to any orders for his return.[2] With the same precipitancy he led his army into an ambush which Hannibal had laid for him at Lake Trasimene, where he expiated his rashness with his life and a terrible defeat, which cost Rome 15,000 men (B.C. 217). Two temples vowed after this battle, one to MENS, the other to VENUS ERYCINA, were erected close together on the Capitol, and consecrated by Q. Fabius Maximus and T. Otacilius Crassus, in B.C. 215.[3]

[1] Liv. viii. 20; Varro, *L. L.* v. § 154. [2] Liv. xxi. 63, xxii. 1 sqq.
[3] Liv. xxii. 10, xxiii. 51; Cic. *N. D.* ii. 23.

The defeat of Terentius Varro by Hannibal at Cannæ, the following year, was a still more terrible blow. The victor was hourly expected at Rome, and portents again agitated the public mind, especially the unchastity of two Vestals, Opimia and Floronia. One of these was buried alive at the Porta Collina, the other escaped the same fate by suicide. As a further expiation, after consulting the Sibylline books, two men and two women, of Greek and Gallic race, were buried alive in a stone vault in the Forum Boarium. The place, says Livy, was already imbued with human sacrifices, though he disclaims the practice as un-Roman.[1] A more humane and cheerful way of propitiating the gods was by the institution of the LUDI APOLLINARES in compliance with the prophecies of one Marcius, though the idea of them appears to have been borrowed from the Greeks. They were celebrated in the Circus Maximus.

During the year which followed the disaster at Cannæ, Rome displayed every mark of grief and humiliation. The senate quitted the Curia, the prætor abandoned the Comitium, to deliberate and to administer justice near the Porta Capena, the side threatened by Hannibal. But it was not till B.C. 211 that Hannibal, approaching by rapid marches on the Via Latina, reached the Anio before his presence was suspected. The proconsul Fulvius had, however, preceded him, by forced marches on the Via Appia; and entering Rome by the Porta Capena, and marching through the city by the Carinæ, he pitched

[1] Such sacrifices were abolished at Rome by a decree of the senate, B.C. 97; nevertheless we read of two human victims being decapitated in the Campus Martius, B.C. 46, by order of the Pontifices, and their heads affixed to the Regia. Pliny mentions even in his age the interment alive of Gallic and other men and women. *H. N.* xxviii. 3. Cf. Dion. Cass. xliii. 24.

his camp on the Esquiline,[1] outside the Servian agger, between the Porta Esquilina and Porta Collina. Hither came the consuls and the senate to deliberate. Arrangements were made for the defence of the city, and it was ordered that a tolerably full senate should remain assembled on the Forum, to give their advice on any emergency. The camp of Hannibal was now but three miles distant from Rome; and that commander ventured to make a reconnaissance round the walls with an escort of only 2,000 horse. But the imperturbable fortitude of the Roman people, the knowledge that, in spite of his presence, they had despatched several corps of cavalry to Spain, nay, that the very ground on which his camp stood had been sold at auction without any diminution of price, discouraged Hannibal as much as the loss of a battle. After the empty bravado of launching a javelin into a city which he could not take, he hastily struck his camp, and, marching to the sanctuary of Feronia at the foot of Soracte, consoled himself for his disappointment at Rome by plundering that wealthy shrine.[2] Thus was the city delivered from the greatest danger which had threatened it since its capture by the Gauls.

Although the third century before the Christian era shows but little progress in the city of Rome, it was marked by a striking improvement in the literary cultivation of the Romans. The regular drama is not relished except by a people that has attained to a considerable degree of civilization. It was the last sort of poetry brought to any perfection among the Greeks; and the same observation will apply, we believe, to most other nations. Thus Chaucer and Gower in England had written epic and other poetry two centuries before the

[1] Liv. xxvi. 8 sqq. [2] *Ibid.* 11.

establishment of regular dramatic entertainments. The drama, like all the more elegant arts of life, was derived by the Romans from the Greeks, and was first introduced at Rome after the conquest of Magna Græcia. During the wars in that country, the poet Andronicus, a native of Tarentum, was captured and brought to Rome, where he became the slave of M. Livius Salinator, and derived from him the surname of Livius. Having sufficiently mastered the Latin language to be able to write in it, Livius Andronicus brought out a considerable number of plays, which, however, appear to have been little more than translations from the Greek. The first of them was exhibited in B.C. 240. But however rude and barbarous the language at least of these dramas may have been, they seem not only to have been extant in the time of Horace, but even to have been read in schools,[1] whence it would appear that there must have been a sort of Latin literature before the time of those authors who are reputed to have been the earliest Roman historians.[2] It must not be supposed, however, that there was any regular theatre at Rome at this period. The Roman aristocracy, like the English Puritans, set their faces against dramatic entertainments, as injurious to public morality. Although the building of a stone theatre had been commenced, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, in his consulship in B.C. 155, induced the senate to order its demolition.[3] Thus, even to the times of Plautus and Terence, plays were represented at Rome on wooden stages, or scaffoldings, resembling probably those on which the Mysteries and Moralities of the middle ages

[1] *Epp.* ii. 1, 69 sq.

[2] Liv. vii. 2; Cic. *Brut.* 18; Sueton. *De ill. Gramm.* 1; Gell. xvii. 21.

[3] Liv. *Epit.* xlviii.

were performed, and the audience appears to have beheld them standing. Poets in the time of Livius were called *scribes*, an appellation which seems to show that the Roman public had no very exalted idea of the poetical vocation. A building on the Aventine appears, however, to have been assigned for the use of Livius and of a troop of players; and after his death, "scribes" and actors were accustomed to meet in the Temple of Minerva on that hill to celebrate his praises and offer gifts in his honour.[1] The drama at Rome was continued by Nævius, who was probably a Campanian;[2] but it belongs not to this work to trace the history of Roman literature, except so far as it may be connected with the history of the city and its inhabitants. We need, therefore, only further mention here, that Ennius, also a dramatist, but better known as the first great Latin epic poet, who flourished soon after Livius Andronicus, towards the end of the third century B.C., lived in a humble dwelling on the Aventine, attended only by one female slave. That plebeian hill may therefore be regarded as the Helicon of the Roman muses, when they lived in republican fashion without much patronage from the great.

Besides the adoption of the Greek drama, the Romans likewise acquired a taste for Grecian works of art, imbibed, it is said, through the capture of Syracuse by Marcellus, in B.C. 212. That event likewise afforded the first precedent for ruthless spoliation both of sacred and profane objects under the pretext of the right of war. Marcellus placed part of the pictures and statues plundered from the Syracusans in the Temple of HONOS and VIRTUS, which he had founded near the Porta Capena.

[1] Festus, p. 333.

[2] See the article on Nævius, in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*.

Nearly all of these had vanished in the time of Livy, a circumstance which that historian regards as a sign of the displeasure of the gods at such practices.[1] Tarentum yielded almost as many works of art as Syracuse, although Fabius, its captor, showed more compunction in plundering them.[2] In the war with Philip V. of Macedon, which broke out towards the end of the third century B.C., the Romans, though they professed themselves the friends of the Greeks, brought away a great many pictures and statues from Eretria.[3]

But the influence of Greek civilization was not powerful enough to counteract entirely the barbarous taste of the Romans, to the majority of whom gladiatorial combats were more attractive than the scenic beauties of the Grecian muse. That cruel entertainment was first introduced at Rome by M. and D. Brutus, at the funeral of their father in B.C. 264, when gladiators fought in the Forum Boarium.[4] The spectacle, however, was soon transferred to the Forum Romanum; and instead of being confined, as at first, to funerals, was extended to festive entertainments, and at length adopted by the magistrates as one of the most popular methods of celebrating public festivals.

Besides art and literature, another effect of conquest was to introduce at Rome new forms of superstition. The Romans, like most pagans, readily adopted the gods of other nations, as we have already seen from the introduction of Apollo, Æsculapius, and other Greek divinities. Frequent showers of stones, a portent often mentioned by the Roman historians, could, according to the Sibylline books, be expiated only by bringing to

[1] Livy, xxv. 40.
[2] *Ibid.* xxvii. 16.
[3] *Ibid.* xxxii. 16.
[4] Liv. *Epit.* xvi.; Valer. Max. ii. 4 § 7.

Rome CYBELE, or the Idæan mother. This deity was originally represented by a shapeless black stone, reputed to have fallen from heaven; whence probably its presumed efficacy at the present juncture. Attalus, king of Pergamus, an ally of the Romans, engaged to transfer this sacred object into their hands from its shrine in the town of Pessinus in Phrygia; and P. Cornelius Scipio, the youthful brother of Africanus, accounted the worthiest and most virtuous among the Romans, was selected to receive the goddess (B.C. 204). Having proceeded to Ostia in fulfilment of this mission, and received the sacred stone from the priests, he delivered it into the hands of the matrons who had accompanied him, by whom it was borne in solemn state to Rome, and placed in the TEMPLE of VICTORY on the Palatine Hill. Here it was adored by multitudes who crowded to it with offerings, and its arrival was celebrated by a lectisternium and the Megalesian games. Thirteen years later, a round temple, or tholus, was erected on the Palatine for its reception, and dedicated by M. Junius Brutus, B.C. 191. The goddess was now represented by a statue, with its face to the east; the temple was adorned with a painting of Corybantes, and plays were acted in front of it.[1]

It must have been about this time that the GRÆCOSTASIS was erected near the Curia, apparently a mere open platform, designed as a waiting-place for foreign ambassadors before they were admitted to an audience of the senate. Its situation on the Vulcanal made it conspicuous from the Forum; and the sight of envoys from various nations, Greeks and Gauls, Asiatics and Egyptians, in their national costumes, and frequently

[1] Liv. xxix. 14, xxxvi. 36; Martial, i. 70, 9.

bearing splendid gifts, must to Roman pride and love of pageantry have rendered the spectacle almost as gratifying as a triumph.

Another Greek art introduced at Rome about this period was the practice of medicine. Archagathus, a Greek, appears to have opened the first surgeon and apothecary's shop, B.C. 219. He was received with such welcome that the shop was purchased for him at the public expense, and he was presented with the Jus Quiritium. But he seems to have been a perfect Sangrado, and by too free a use of the knife, and other heroical remedies, soon altogether disgusted the Romans with the medical art.[1]

The century closed with the triumph of Scipio in B.C. 201, one of the most magnificent hitherto beheld. The victor at Zama deposited in the public treasury more than 100,000 pounds weight of silver. The name of Africanus, with which he was greeted by the people, initiated the custom of illustrating a fortunate general by the appellation of a conquered people; but King Syphax is said to have been released by an opportune death from the ignominy of adorning his conqueror's triumph.[2] Other honours, little short of idolatry, the Romans, in the flush and full tide of success, would have heaped upon Scipio; they were modestly declined, but he nevertheless lived to experience the fickleness and ingratitude of his countrymen, and to learn that not even services like his can always insure a lasting popularity. He retired in disgust to Liternum, and some say he could never be induced to return to Rome. Yet it is uncertain whether he was buried at Liternum or in

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxix. 6.

[2] Liv. xxv. 45; Val. Max. iv. 1, § 6. Polybius, however (xvi. 23, § 6), says that Syphax was actually led in triumph.

the family tomb of the Scipios on the Via Appia, a few hundred yards outside the Porta Capena. In the time of Livy, monuments to him were extant at both places. At the Roman tomb were three statues, said to represent Scipio himself, his brother Lucius, and the poet Ennius, whom Africanus had as it were adopted into the family.[1] This tomb, still extant, is perhaps one of the most interesting monuments of the republican period; though its present state conveys but an imperfect idea of the original structure. It was at least as ancient as L. Scipio Barbatus, consul in B.C. 298; the inscription on whose sarcophagus, still preserved in the Vatican, is the oldest contemporary record of any Roman. Many other records of the Scipios and their friends have also been carried from this tomb to the Vatican, and their places supplied by copies.[2] Close to it were the tombs of the Servilii, Metelli, and other distinguished families, all traces of which have now disappeared.[3]

The close of the third century before the Christian era was marked by some terrible fires. One of these, in B.C. 213, raged two days and a night, levelling all between the Salinæ, near the Porta Trigemina, and the Porta Carmentalis, including the Æquimælium and Vicus Jugarius; whence it spread beyond the gate, and destroyed many buildings both sacred and profane. Among the former were the Temples of Fortune, Mater Matuta, and Hope.[4] Another still more destructive fire occurred in B.C. 211, which, from its breaking out at once in several places near the Forum, was ascribed to incendiaries. The Tabernæ Septem, on the south side

[1] Liv. xxxviii. 56.

[2] For a description of the tomb see Visconti, *Mon. degli Scipioni.* Cf. Nibby, *Roma Ant.* t. ii. p. 562 sq.

[3] Cic. *Tusc.* i. 7.

[4] Liv. xxiv. 47.

of the Forum, were destroyed; the Atrium Regium shared the same fate, and even the Temple of Vesta was with difficulty saved. On the north side of the Forum, the Argentariæ, or silversmiths' shops, subsequently called Novæ, the Lautumiæ, the fish-market, besides many private houses, were consumed. Some noble Campanian youths, convicted on the evidence of a slave, were executed for this act, which they had committed out of revenge for the putting to death of some of their relatives by the proconsul, Fulvius Flaccus.[1] A few years later, B.C. 192, a fire in the Forum Boarium destroyed all the buildings near the Tiber, with a great deal of valuable merchandise.[2]

The second century before the Christian era shows a marked improvement in the city. The Romans had now reduced all Italy, had humbled Carthage, and were beginning to turn their thoughts to conquests in Greece. Their intercourse with the inhabitants of Magna Græcia and Sicily had tended to improve their architectural taste, as well as to introduce among them other refinements. It is at all events certain that at the beginning of the second century B.C. were erected some splendid buildings of a kind hitherto unknown at Rome.

He who stands on the Roman Forum, and surveys its narrow limits, can hardly fail to be struck with surprise, mixed with something like disappointment, that so small a place should have been the scene of such grand historical events, the council-chamber, as it were, whence a "people king" agitated and controlled the affairs of the world. It is, however, probable that we are not yet presented with its whole breadth, and that a considerable space on its northern side, still covered with earth

[1] Liv. xxvi. 27. [2] *Ibid.* xxxv. 40.

and buildings, anciently formed part of it. Even so, however, the Romans themselves, as their conquests grew and their ideas expanded with them, seem to have experienced a similar feeling. Hence their attempts to relieve and enlarge the Forum, first by the construction of Basilicæ, and at length, in the imperial times, by the addition of several adjacent Fora. The idea of the Basilica, as well as its name, was evidently borrowed from the Greeks; and the στοὰ βασίλειος at Athens, in which the ἄρχων βασιλεύς administered justice, probably furnished the model. When we speak, therefore, of a Roman Basilica, we must supplement this adjective form with some substantive understood, such as *porticus* or *ædes;* just as the Greek has also the substantive form βασιλική, with the omission of στοά or οἰκία. A Basilica was a large building used at once as a law-court and a sort of exchange. Hence its utility in relieving the Forum, which also served in both those capacities. It was of an oblong form, and, according to architectural rules, the breadth should not be more than one half nor less than one third of the length.[1] At first it appears to have been open to the air, and surrounded only with a peristyle having two rows of columns, one resting upon the other; the lower row being of larger dimensions than the upper ones. From this exposure to the air Vitruvius recommends that Basilicæ should be built in the warmest and most sheltered part of a Forum; but the later Romans obviated this inconvenience by surrounding them with a wall. The interior generally consisted of three parts; a central *porticus*, answering to the nave of a modern church, with two rows of columns at each side, forming two aisles. At one end of the central

[1] Vitruv. v. 1, § 4.

porticus, or nave, was the tribunal of the judge, commonly of a circular form, though sometimes square. Such was in general the disposition of a Basilica, though of course there were occasional variations.

The first building of this sort constructed at Rome was the BASILICA PORCIA, so called from its having been founded by M. Porcius Cato in his censorship, B.C. 184.[1] In order to make room for it, four of the Tabernæ on the north side of the Forum were purchased, and behind these the houses of Mænius and Titius, in the place called Lautumiæ. Mænius, however, retained one of the columns of his house with a balcony on the top of it, whence he might view the gladiatoral combats in the Forum.[2] The Basilica Porcia must have closely adjoined the eastern side of the Curia Hostilia, since it was consumed in the same fire as the latter building, when the body of Clodius was burnt.[3] After this period we hear no more of this Basilica. Behind it was the Forum Piscatorium, or fish-market, the noisome smells of which are described by Plautus as driving into the Forum the *subbasilicani*, or frequenters of the Basilica.[4]

Cato also caused the pipes to be cut off by means of

[1] There is some difficulty about the date, as Plautus, who is commonly supposed to have died in B.C. 184, mentions the Basilica more than once. Might the Basilica have been erected in the ædileship of Cato, B.C. 199?

[2] M. Ampère (*Hist. Rom. à Rome*, t. iv. p. 270, note) questions whether in my article *Roma*, p. 786, I have done right in distinguishing this column from the Columna Mænia on the Forum. The latter, perhaps, never existed; but, if so, the mistake is Pliny's, who may have been misled by a similarity of name. Cicero (*Pro Sest.* 58) seems to refer to a column of the house. See above, p. 96.

[3] Liv. xxxix. 44; Ascon. ad *Cic. pro Mil.* Arg. p. 34 (Orelli); Schol. *ad Horat. Sat.* i. 3, 21.

[4] *Capt.* iv. 2, 23.

which private individuals, to the detriment of the public, diverted the water of the aqueducts; also private buildings to be demolished which encroached upon the public streets or places; the fountains and ponds to be paved, and, where necessary, to be covered with stone; new drains to be constructed on the Aventine and other places where they did not yet exist.[1] He had previously, when consul in B.C. 195 with Valerius Flaccus, also his colleague in the censorship, caused the Villa Publica and the Atrium Libertatis to be repaired and enlarged;[2] so that he and Flaccus may be regarded as two of the greatest benefactors of the city.

The Basilica Porcia was soon followed by the BASILICA FULVIA, also called *Æmilia et Fulvia*, from its having been founded in the censorship of M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior, B.C. 179. All its subsequent restorations and embellishments appear, however, to have been due to the gens Æmilia. As this Basilica is described as situated behind the Argentariæ Novæ, which had replaced the butchers' shops, it must have adjoined the Porcia, and consequently lain to the east of the church of S. Adriano.[3] We shall have occasion to mention its restorations further on. Fulvius Nobilior, after the conquest of Ætolia, in B.C. 189, had already adorned Rome with a TEMPLE OF HERCULES, as leader of the Muses (Hercules Musarum, or Μουσαγέτης). It stood in the Campus Martius, a little south of the Circus Flaminius. He had also brought to Rome from Ambracia, which had formerly been the residence of King Pyrrhus, a great patron of art, 230 marble statues and 285 of bronze, besides pictures.[4] Two or three years

[1] Liv. xxxix. 44.
[2] *Ibid.* xxxiv. 44.
[3] *Ibid.* xl. 51; Varr. *L. L.* vi. § 4 (Müll.).
[4] Liv. xxxviii. 9, xxxix. 5; Polyb. xxii. 13.

before, M. Æmilius Lepidus, with his colleague in the ædileship, L. Æmilius Paullus, had founded an EMPORIUM, or place of landing and sale for sea-carried goods, on the banks of the Tiber, just outside the Porta Trigemina, and under the western side of the Aventine. At this spot they also erected a portico, and another leading from the Porta Fontinalis to the altar of Mars in the Campus Martius.[1] The district under the Aventine was also much improved by Lepidus and Nobilior in their censorship, by the construction of a harbour, as well as of a bridge over the Tiber, which obtained the name of PONS ÆMILIUS. They also founded a market and other porticoes.[2] The same censors caused the shields, ensigns, and other offerings to be removed, with which the pediment and columns of the Capitoline temple had become encumbered.[3] The censorship of Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus, in B.C. 174, was likewise remarkable for many improvements; and especially for the paving of the streets of the city with flint, and of the roads and footpaths outside the walls with gravel.[4]

A third Basilica, the SEMPRONIA, was erected by the censor T. Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the two demagogues, in B.C. 169. This building must have been on the south side of the Forum, since the house of Scipio Africanus, together with some butchers' shops behind the Tabernæ Veteres, were purchased in order to obtain a site for it. Its situation is also marked as being near the statue of Vertumnus, which stood where the Vicus Tuscus ran into the Forum.[5] From these particulars we may gather that it stood on or near the spot afterwards occupied by the Basilica Julia; but its later history is unknown.

[1] Liv. xxxv. 10. [2] *Ibid.* xl. 51. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* xli. 27. [5] *Ibid.* xli. v. 16.

The overthrow of Perseus at Pydna, B.C. 168, afforded his conqueror, Æmilius Paullus, the grandest triumph hitherto beheld at Rome. That of L. Cornelius Scipio, surnamed Asiaticus, for the defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia, B.C. 190, had indeed been one of no ordinary splendour, and had far exceeded that of his brother Africanus for his victory over Hannibal. Between two and three hundred standards, 134 images of cities, 1,231 elephants' teeth, 234 golden crowns, a vast amount of gold and silver, coined and uncoined or in plate, 32 captive generals or governors, had been paraded before the eyes of the admiring Romans by Asiaticus.[1] But the pageant seems to have occupied only one day, while that of Æmilius Paullus lasted three. Starting in the Campus Martius, the long-drawn pomp passed through the Circus Flaminius, and entered the city by the Porta Triumphalis, which, as we have said, appears to have been between the Porta Carmentalis and Porta Flumentana, in that portion of the wall which ran from the Capitoline Hill to the Tiber.[2] Hence it proceeded through the Circus Maximus, the valley which divides the Palatine from the Cælian, along the Sacra Via, and so over the Forum to the Capitol. Both the Circuses, the Forum, in which scaffolds had been erected, and other open places, from which a view could be obtained, were filled by the people, dressed in white: the temples stood open, adorned with festoons and garlands, and reeking with perfumes and incense. The whole of the first day scarcely sufficed to display the pictures and statues which had been taken, and were now carried in

[1] Liv. xxxvii. 59.

[2] Respecting the much-disputed situation of this gate, the reader is referred to the article *Roma*, in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geography*, vol. ii. pp. 751-754.

250 chariots. The second day was occupied with parading Cretan, Thracian, and Macedonian arms. These were followed by 3,000 men carrying cups and vases; among the last, 750 contained each three talents in silver money.

Early on the third day, amid the strains of martial music, 120 fatted cows, adorned with ribands, were seen advancing, conducted by youths with beautiful sashes. Behind them came children, bearing gold and silver pateræ. Then followed men carrying 77 vases filled with gold coin to the value of three talents each; also gold cups adorned with precious stones, and the golden plate of Perseus. This part of the procession was closed by the chariot of the Macedonian king, in which were his arms and diadem. Presently were seen the three children of Perseus, surrounded by their attendants, and with tearful eyes and uplifted hands imploring the pity of the spectators. Perseus himself followed, overwhelmed and dejected by the greatness of his misfortune. The Macedonian had not taken his conqueror's hint, that he might have escaped this degradation by an act of suicide. Before the triumphal chariot of Æmilius Paullus were borne 400 golden crowns, presented by so many cities that had done him homage. The conqueror was clothed in purple, and bore in his hand a laurel-branch.[1]

Perseus, after his defeat at Pydna, had taken refuge in Samothrace, where he surrendered himself to the prætor Cn. Octavius. Octavius obtained in consequence a naval triumph the following year, B.C. 167. The wealth which he had amassed in Greece enabled him to build a magnificent house on the Palatine Hill, one of the first examples of elegant domestic architecture,[2] and also to

[1] Plutarch, *Paul. Æm.* 32 sqq. [2] Cic. *De Off.* i. 39.

erect a handsome double portico, which from him was called the PORTICUS OCTAVIA, and, from the capitals of its columns being bronze, PORTICUS CORINTHIA. It lay to the west of the Circus Flaminius. Augustus rebuilt it, but dedicated it again under the name of its original founder,[1] his ancestor.

As Rome advanced in magnificence and splendour, and its inhabitants in elegance and refinement of life, so also grew profligacy and corruption. Open and scandalous proofs of this occurred early in the second century B.C. The introduction of the Greek Bacchanalia became a fertile source of all kinds of vice. The veil of religion served to conceal the most horrible debaucheries; promiscuous assemblies of men and women were stimulated by feasting, wine, and revelry, to lust and shamelessness; the cries of innocent victims lured to these infernal orgies for purposes of abuse were drowned amid wild bacchanalian shouts and the noise of drums and cymbals. From the same dens of iniquity proceeded false accusers, perjured witnesses, forgers of wills and other documents, poisoners, murderers. In this great conspiracy of vice more than seven thousand men and women are said to have been implicated. The matter being at length brought under the cognizance of the magistrates, the Bacchanalia were prohibited at Rome and throughout Italy by a senatusconsultum, B.C. 186.[2]

About the same time we find Livy complaining of the introduction of luxury at Rome through the army of Asia. Then were first seen bronze beds with sumptuous coverlets, sideboards, tables with one foot. Pantomimists, female musicians, and other diversions were introduced

[1] Vell. Pat. ii. 1 (who speaks of it as "in Circo"); Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 7; Festus, p. 178.

[2] Liv. xxxix. 8-18.

at banquets; the feast itself was prepared with greater care and expense; the cook, anciently the vilest and cheapest of slaves, began to rise in value, and his function to assume the rank of an art. Yet, adds the historian, what was then seen was but the seed of future luxury.[1] There were still, indeed, a few who, like old Cato the censor, adhered to the earlier Roman plainness and simplicity. Yet, although Cato procured a decree for the banishment of Greek philosophers and rhetoricians, hated all physicians, more particularly because they were Greeks, and persuaded the senate to dismiss as soon as possible the Athenian ambassadors Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus, we nevertheless find this old-fashioned Roman yielding at last to the spirit of the times, and devoting himself in his old age to the study of Greek literature.

A. Cæcilius Metellus, after his triumph, in B.C. 146, for the defeat of Andriscus in Macedonia, an achievement which procured for him the name of Macedonicus, founded the PORTICUS METELLI, near the Circus Flaminius, on the eastern side of the Temple of Hercules Musarum. This portico was afterwards superseded by the Porticus Octaviæ, erected by Augustus. The Porticus Metelli enclosed two temples of JUPITER STATOR and JUNO, of which the last at least appears to have been previously erected. One of them was of marble, the first instance of the sort at Rome. Before these temples Metellus placed the celebrated group of twenty-five bronze statues which he had brought from Greece. They had been executed by Lysippus for Alexander the Great, and represented that conqueror himself, and twenty-four horsemen of his troop who had fallen at the Granicus.[2]

[1] Liv. xxxix. 16.

[2] Vell. Pat. i. 11; Vitr. iii. 2.

The district about the Circus Flaminius had become during this century the favourite place for the erection of public monuments. M. Æmilius Lepidus had dedicated there, in B.C. 179, a TEMPLE to DIANA, and another to JUNO REGINA.[1] A few years later was erected, near the same spot, a temple of FORTUNA EQUESTRIS, pursuant to a vow of Q. Fulvius Flaccus in a battle against the Celtiberians, B.C. 176. The occasion of it was a successful charge of cavalry, which decided the fortune of the day in favour of the Romans. It was dedicated by Fulvius in his censorship, three years after the battle. He had determined to make it one of the most magnificent temples in the city; with which view he proceeded into Bruttium, and, having stripped off half the marble tiles from the Temple of Juno Lacinia, brought them by sea to Rome. But this sacrilege was denounced by the senate, and the plan of Fulvius frustrated.[2] The temple was extant in the time of Vitruvius, near the theatre of Pompey;[3] yet, strangely enough, seems to have vanished in the time of Tiberius, when no temple of Fortune, with the title of Equestris, could be found at Rome.[4] In the same neighbourhood, a TEMPLE OF MARS was afterwards erected by D. Junius Brutus, surnamed Callaicus or Gallæcus, for his victories over the Gallicians in B.C. 136. Its vestibule was adorned with inscriptions in verse by the poet Accius.[5] We also read of TEMPLES of NEPTUNE, of CASTOR and POLLUX, perhaps also of VULCAN, in the same district; but these were probably mere *sacella*.[6]

The same year which saw the triumph of Metellus

[1] Liv. xl. 52.
[2] Liv. xl. 40, 44; xlii. 3, 10.
[3] *De Archit.* iii. 3.
[4] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 71.
[5] Cic. *pro Arch.* 10; Val. Max. viii. 14, 2.
[6] Vitruv. iv. 8, 4.

(B.C. 146) also beheld the fall of Carthage, as well as the taking of Corinth by Mummius and final subjugation of Greece. These two important events appear not, however, to have occasioned the erection of any important monument; but many *chefs d'œuvre* of Greek art were brought from Corinth to Rome. The barbarous ignorance of Mummius is immortalized by the well-known story of his binding the shippers to replace them in case of loss! The gem of these spoils was a picture of Bacchus, by Aristides, which was placed in the Temple of Bacchus, Ceres, and Proserpine.[1] Rome was now growing exceedingly rich in works of Greek art, which were used to adorn the more celebrated temples and porticoes. Even the Forum itself, besides statues of Roman origin, contained some connected only with Grecian history. Such were those of Alcibiades and Pythagoras, which stood near the Comitium. Before the Rostra were statues of the Three Sibyls, which, at a later period, obtained the name of Tria Fata. The balconies of the Tabernæ, on the south side of the Forum, were covered with pictures by Serapion. The Comitium was adorned with a fresco-painting, brought from Sparta, which had been preserved by detaching the bricks on which it had been traced.[2] The Septa, or Ovile, was also decorated with works of art, and especially with two celebrated groups for which the keepers were responsible with their lives; one representing Pan and young Olympus, the other Chiron and the youthful Achilles.[3]

About the middle of the century (B.C. 144) was constructed the AQUA MARCIA, so called from its builder, Q.

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 8, 1, and 36, 6; Strabo, viii. 6, 23.
[2] Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 37, 2, and 49, 4, &c.
[3] *Ibid.* xxxvi. 4.

Marcius Rex. It was one of the noblest of the Roman aqueducts, being lofty enough to supply the Capitoline Hill. Its source was thirty-six miles from Rome, near the Via Valeria; yet so circuitous was its route, that its whole length was about sixty-two miles, of which nearly seven were on arches. Its water was the purest and coldest brought to Rome. Augustus added another source to it, about a mile distant; but this duct, called AQUA AUGUSTA, was not accounted a separate aqueduct.[1] Soon after was constructed the AQUA TEPULA, in the censorship of Cn. Servilius Cæpio and L. Cassius Longinus, B.C. 127. It began about ten miles from Rome, at a point two miles to the right of the Via Appia.

The second century B.C. had witnessed the origin at Rome of the triumphal arch, a sort of structure peculiar to the Romans. The idea of it may possibly have been suggested by the Porta Triumphalis, through which the fortunate general to whom a triumph had been accorded entered the city. But that gate was common to all victorious captains, and left no special memorial of any particular achievement, like the FORNIX, or ARCUS TRIUMPHALIS. L. Stertinius first introduced a monument of this kind in B.C. 196, in commemoration of his victories in Spain, by erecting three arches, two in the Forum Boarium, and one in the Circus Maximus. A few years after Scipio Africanus built another on the Clivus Capitolinus. All these arches appear to have been surmounted with gilt statues.[2] The only other triumphal arch erected during the republican times was the FORNIX FABIUS, or FABIANUS, built by Q. Fabius Allobrogicus, in B.C. 121, in honour of his victories over the Allobroges. This arch spanned the Via Sacra where it entered the

[1] Front. 12; Plin. *H. N.* xxxi. 24; Strab. v. 3.

[2] Liv. xxxiii. 27, xxxvii. 3.

Forum, and thus occupied one of the most conspicuous sites in Rome. It is alluded to more than once by Cicero, who mentions an anecdote of Memmius bowing his head whenever he passed through it.[1] This he did, it is said, out of a conceit of his own greatness; but, looking at the story from our own point of view in connection with the architecture of the city, we are perhaps entitled to infer from it that the arch was not remarkable for loftiness. In the imperial times these arches began to assume more magnificent dimensions, and were sometimes built for other purposes than the commemoration of triumphs.

We have seen that hitherto the dedication, or the destruction, of many, indeed most, of the Roman monuments was the result of foreign wars: we have now reached a period when civil discord was to produce the same effects. Towards the latter part of the second century B.C. those intestine broils commenced which at length, by undermining the aristocratic element of the Republic, paved the way for the despotism of the Empire. They were begun by the Gracchi, the two celebrated tribunes, in whose family democratic principles and a love of liberty appear to have been hereditary. An ancestor had erected a TEMPLE to LIBERTAS on the Aventine, which his son, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, the conqueror of Hanno at Beneventum, B.C. 214, adorned with a picture concerning that event.[2] The murder of Tiberius Gracchus on the Capitol, B.C. 133, was the first blood shed at Rome in domestic strife. He was killed near the entrance of the Temple of Fides, where the senate was assembled; the ancient structure before mentioned

[1] *De Orat.* ii. 66; cf. *Pro Planc.* 7.

[2] Liv. xxiv. 16.

as founded by Numa, which stood close to the temple of the Capitoline Jove.[1] Twelve years later, the brother of Tiberius, the tribune Caius Sempronius Gracchus, incurred the same fate. The agrarian laws and other innovations of Caius Gracchus had drawn down upon him the hatred of the aristocratic party, at that time led by the consul, L. Opimius. Serious riots took place, and the accidental slaughter of one Antyllius, said to be an attendant of the consul's, by the partisans of Gracchus, led to further violence. On the third day of the riots, M. Fulvius Flaccus, Gracchus' principal adherent, having organized a body of armed men, took possession of the Aventine; whither also the tribune repaired, but with a mind disposed for peace, with which view he despatched the youthful son of Flaccus as a sort of ambassador to the senate. But Opimius, who had resolved on more violent measures, caused the youth to be cast into prison, and he himself, at the head of an armed band, marched upon the Aventine. The rioters were soon dispersed; Flaccus was slain as he fled; Gracchus withdrew into the Temple of Luna, with the intention of committing suicide; but, being dissuaded from that purpose by his friends, sought to escape over the Tiber. By the devotion of his followers, who sacrificed their lives for him, he passed in safety the wooden bridge leading to the Janiculum, and, accompanied only by a single slave, made his way to the LUCUS FURINÆ.[2] Here, being unable to procure a horse, he fell either by his

[1] Above, p. 40. Cf. App. *B. C.* i. 16.

[2] Cicero (*Nat. Deor.* iii. 18) calls it the Grove of the Furies, but those Attic Deities do not appear to have been naturalized at Rome; and we may infer from Varro (*L. L.* vi. § 19, Müll.) that Furina was some indigenous goddess.

own hand or that of his faithful attendant.[1] About 3,000 persons are said to have fallen in this affray, and all the adherents of Gracchus that could be captured were strangled in prison.

Tranquillity having been restored by these violent measures, Opimius, by command of the senate, dedicated a TEMPLE to CONCORD (B.C. 121). This temple, like the Senaculum, appears to have occupied part of the elevated platform called the Vulcanal.[2] During some excavations at this spot in 1817 were found some votive inscriptions, in three of which might be read the name of Concordia. Remains of the substruction of the temple may still be seen just above the Arch of Severus. It was probably only a reconstruction of a previous Temple of Concord, which appears to have been erected on the same spot by Cn. Flavius in B.C. 305.[3] It has been sometimes taken for that dedicated by Furius Camillus in B.C. 367, which, however, seems to have been seated on the Arx.[4] The temple of Opimius must have been a building of some magnitude, since we find the senate assembling in it at the time of Catiline's conspiracy.[5] It appears to have contained many valuable works of art.[6]

In the same year, or a little after, the consul Opimius also erected the BASILICA OPIMIA. This building seems almost to have adjoined the Temple of Concord, on its northern side, and lay to the west of the Curia Hostilia, occupying pretty nearly the site of the modern church

[1] Plut. in *C. Gracch.* 17; Vell. Pat. ii. 6; Appian, *B. C.* i. 26; Aur. Vict. *De Vir. Ill.* c. 65.

[2] Nibby, *Del Foro Romano*, p. 139.

[3] Liv. ix. 46; Varro, *L. L.* v. p. 156 (Müll.); Appian, *loc. cit.*

[4] On this question see the article *Roma*, p. 765 sq.

[5] Sall. *B. Cat.* 46; Cic. *Cat.* iii. 9.

[6] Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 19, xxxvi. 67.

of S. Giuseppe. It seems probable that it obtained in later times the name of Basilica Argentaria; it is at least certain that the *Notitia* mentions such a Basilica near this spot, of the origin of which we can give no account, unless we assume it to have been the Opimia under a new name. The street called Salita di Marforio, which runs close to it, bore, in the middle ages, the name of Clivus Argentarius, and the surrounding district that of Insula Argentaria.[1] We have seen that the butchers' shops on the north side of the Forum had been converted long before this period into silversmiths' shops, called "Argentariæ Novæ." These silversmiths were the bankers and pawnbrokers of Rome; and the extension of Roman commerce, resulting from the growth of the empire, required, no doubt, the additional space of the Basilica for traders of this description. All this part of the city became, in fact, the Roman Change. The district, or rather street, in which the money-changers dwelt, was called "Janus," no doubt from the celebrated temple which stood here; and the middle part of it, as we see from allusions in classical writers, was the focus of all monetary transactions—the Lombard Street of Rome. Thus Horace:

> Postquam omnis res mea Janum
> Ad medium fracta est.[2]

[1] Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.* p. 293. The *Ordo Romanus*, belonging to the 12th century, quoted by Mabillon, *Museo Ital.* t. ii. p. 118, thus describes the pope's route: "Prosiliens ante S. Marcum ascendit sub arcu manus carneæ per Clivum Argentarium inter insulam ejusdem nominis (the former Basilica) et Capitolium, descendit ante privatam Mamertini; intrat sub arcu triumphali inter templum Fatale et templum Concordiæ." The Templum Fatale was the ancient Janus, and appears hence to have stood a little before the Mamertine prison.

[2] *Sat.* ii. 3, 18, et ibi Heindorf. Compare Cic. *Off.* ii. 25: "De quærenda, de collocanda pecunia, vellem etiam de utenda, commodius

The Scipios, though connected by marriage with the gens Sempronia, to which the Gracchi belonged—for Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus, had married Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, and became, by him, the mother of the celebrated tribunes—were their chief opponents, and devoted themselves to the support of the ancient aristocratic principles of the Roman constitution. Scipio Nasica, surnamed Serapio, had led the senators in the attack upon Tiberius Gracchus, which resulted in the death of that tribune. The most distinguished member of the family at this period was Scipio Æmilianus, called also Africanus Minor, the conqueror of Carthage and Numantia. Æmilianus belonged to the family only by adoption. He was the son of L. Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedonia, and had been adopted by the elder son of the first Africanus. Although he had strengthened the connection between the Scipios and the Gracchi by his marriage with Sempronia, sister of the tribunes, he was nevertheless one of their most determined opponents. He was absent in Spain during the riots in which Tiberius Gracchus fell; but on his return to Rome he openly proclaimed his approbation of the deed. He afterwards led the aristocratic party in opposing the measures of Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus; and there is reason to believe that he was murdered in consequence by one of the members of their faction.[1]

a quibusdam optimis viris ad Janum medium sedentibus, quam ab ullis philosophis ulla in schola, disputatur." Cf. Hor. *Epp.* i. 1, 54: "hæc Janus summus ab imo Perdocet." Where the scholiast observes: "Janus hic *platea* dicitur, ubi mercatores et fœneratores sortis causa convenire solebant."

[1] Val. Max. vi. 2, 3; Plut. *Tib. Gr.* 21, *C. Gr.* 10; Vell. Pat. ii. 4; Appian, *B. C.* i. 19 sq.

Scipio Æmilianus is remarkable as the promoter of literature, the friend of Lælius and Polybius, and the patron of Terence. Scipio and Lælius were not only the best Greek scholars of the age, but were also among the first refiners of the Latin tongue, and are thought to have assisted Terence in writing his comedies. Their friendship has been immortalized by Cicero's dialogue, entitled "Lælius, sive de Amicitia." To the liberality of Scipio Terence appears to have owed a small estate of twenty acres on the Appian Way, near the Temple of Mars;[1] and we may perhaps infer from the situation of the family tomb, that the Scipios possessed a considerable property in this district. The drama had now been introduced about a quarter of a century at Rome; but it was still a kind of exotic plant, nourished only in the hotbed of aristocratic patronage, and never destined to strike healthy and vigorous root in Roman soil. No regular theatre had yet been erected for the performance of plays, which were still exhibited on scaffolds, or temporary stages; and we may infer from Terence's frequent appeals to his audience to preserve order, that his elegant pictures of life were but little suited to the coarse taste of the Romans.[2] His six remaining plays were exhibited in the years B.C. 166-160, four of them at the Megalesian games. At this time, however, had arisen a species of composition peculiarly Roman. Lucilius, founder of the Roman Satire, was also the friend of Scipio and Lælius. The severe and caustic wit of such productions was more congenial to Roman taste than the elegant and elaborate comedy derived from the Greeks, and was

[1] "Ad Martis villam."—Suet. *Vit. Ter.* 5.

[2] See Mr. Donne's excellent article *Terentius*, in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biogr.* vol. iii.

destined to flourish and be brought to its full development by Horace, Juvenal, and Perseus.

As a straw suffices to show which way the tide sets, so a trifling anecdote will serve to illustrate the temper of the times of which we are speaking. It had hitherto been usual for speakers from the Rostra to turn towards the Comitium and Curia, and address the more aristocratic portion of their audience; but Caius Gracchus, according to Plutarch,[1] or C. Licinius Crassus according to other authorities,[2] who was tribune of the plebs in B.C. 145, broke through this custom and addressed his discourse to the people in the Forum. We may further remark concerning C. Gracchus, that, in favour probably of the Italian populations, whose interests he advocated, he paid great attention to the improvement of the highways, especially the Via Appia, and that, according to Plutarch,[3] he was the first who erected milestones (*milliaria*) along the Roman roads. At all events they could not have been in use much before this time, or Polybius[4] would hardly have thought it worth while to notice that part of a road in Gaul was provided with them.

From some anecdotes connected with the sedition of Gracchus, it would appear that the Palatine Hill had already become the fashionable quarter of Rome. C. Gracchus, on his return from Carthage, with a view probably to court the populace, gave up his house upon the Palatine, and went to reside in the Subura,[5] a low part of the city, both in situation and character, lying in the valley between the Esquiline and Quirinal, under the northern side of the present S. Pietro in Vincoli.

[1] *C. Gracch.* 5. [2] Cic. *Amic.* 25. [3] *C. Gracch.* 7.
[4] Lib. iii. 39. [5] Plut. *C. Gr.* 12.

Fulvius Flaccus, the coadjutor of Gracchus, a man of consular dignity, also lived upon the Palatine, and after his death his house was razed. Close to it was the house of M. Livius Drusus. During the building of it, the architect having proposed to construct it so that it could not be overlooked, Drusus exclaimed, "Rather build it so that all my fellow-citizens may see what I am about." This is one of the most historical houses at Rome, having subsequently passed into the hands of Crassus, Cicero, Censorinus, and Statilius Sisenna.[1]

Towards the end of the century, C. Marius, who was to forward that democratic impulse of which Cæsar at last availed himself to establish his power, was rapidly rising in fame and influence through his victories. The capture of Jugurtha was his first great triumph. The visits of the Numidian prince to Rome afford an unbiassed testimony to the corruption which prevailed there, and show the source of many of those fortunes which were now covering the city with palaces. His only instructions to his son and the other ambassadors whom he despatched to Rome to plead his cause, were that they should scatter their gold indiscriminately![2] Jugurtha, however, perished by his own arts, and was treacherously sold to the Romans by Bocchus, king of Mauritania. The negotiation was conducted by a young patrician, L. Cornelius Sulla, then quæstor to Marius; and the merit which Sulla claimed for its successful conclusion, as well as for his other services during the war, laid the foundation for that deadly enmity between him and Marius which subsequently deluged Rome with blood. Jugurtha was captured in B.C. 106, and sent

[1] Vell. Pat. ii. 14.

[2] "Omnes mortales pecunia adgrediantur."—Sall. *Jug.* 28.

captive to Rome. Here he remained a prisoner till January, B.C. 104, when after being led, with his two sons, before the triumphal car of Marius, amid the insults of the populace, he was cast naked into the Tullianum, and either strangled or starved to death. His only exclamation is said to have been, "Hercules, O Romans, how cold a bath is yours!"[1] The defeat of the Teutons at Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix in Provence) by Marius, in B.C. 102, and in the following year, in conjunction with his colleague Q. Lutatius Catulus, that of the Cimbri in the Campi Raudii, near Vercelli, in North Italy, obtained for him, besides a triumph, the erection on the Esquiline of a monument in his honour called the TROPÆA MARII, or trophies of Marius. The building, however, at the junction of the Via di Porta Maggiore and the Via di Sta. Bibiana, commonly pointed out as this monument, and called in the middle ages Templum Marii, or Cimbrum, was no doubt only a castellum of the Aqua Julia; and consequently the sculptured trophies taken from it and placed on the balustrade of the Piazza del Campidoglio by Pope Sixtus V., where they may still be seen, are spurious.[2] Marius, in imitation of Marcellus, also erected a TEMPLE to HONOS ET VIRTUS on the Arx, or southern summit of the Capitoline, out of the spoils taken in the Teutonic and Cimbric war. He was compelled to build it low lest it should interfere with the prospect of the augurs; but it must have been tolerably capacious, since it was here that the senate passed the decree for Cicero's recall.[3] Catulus, who possessed a

[1] Liv. *Ep.* lxvii.; Plut. *Mar.* 12; App. *Num.* 2-4; Eutrop. iv. 27.

[2] Val. Max. vi. 9, 14; Poggio, *De Var. Fort.* p. 8; Canina, *Indicazione*, p. 156 sq.

[3] Vitr. iii. 2, 5; Propert. iv. 11, 45; Cic. *Pro Planc.* 32, *De Div.* i. 28.

magnificent residence on the Palatine, erected on the site of that of Fulvius Flaccus, also commemorated his share in the Cimbric victory by building a portico and adorning it with the spoils which he had taken. He also erected on the Palatine, or rather rededicated, a TEMPLE to FORTUNA, with the title "hujusce diei;" the original was at least as old as the time of Æmilius Paullus.[1]

Rome was now fast filling with porticoes. A few years previously, B.C. 110, the consul Minucius Rufus had erected, in the district of the Circus Flaminius, two porticoes, called after him "MINUCIÆ." They were further respectively distinguished by the names "VETUS" and "FRUMENTARIA;" the latter apparently being the place for distributing the tesseræ to those entitled to the public gifts of corn.[2]

The dissensions and riots occasioned by the ambition of Marius often stained the streets and public places of Rome with blood. Although he had availed himself of the aid of Saturninus and Glaucia, two of the most unprincipled demagogues that had yet appeared, in order to obtain his sixth consulate, he afterwards treacherously turned upon them, and, with a view to regain the good will of the senate, consented to their destruction, B.C. 100. Saturninus and Glaucia, with their adherents, took refuge in the Capitol. Marius, in preference to assaulting that stronghold, cut off the water with which it was supplied by the Aqua Marcia, and thus compelled the insurgents to surrender at discretion. One of the band had proposed to burn the Capitol, a plan that was fortunately

[1] Plin. xxxiv. 19, 5. Cicero remarks that the title was good for every day. *De Leg.* ii. 11.

[2] Vell. Pat. ii. 8; Cic. *Phil.* ii. 34.

rejected. After their surrender, Marius caused them to be shut up in the Curia, with the design apparently of saving their lives; but the victorious patricians, having mounted to the top of the building, stripped off the tiles, and converted them into missiles with which they killed the prisoners.[1]

Marius temporarily retrieved his reputation by his services in the Social or Marsic war; but in B.C. 88 his ambition plunged Rome into all the horrors of civil strife. Already exasperated by Bocchus having erected on the Capitol some gilded statues, representing Jugurtha surrendering himself to Sulla, his anger and indignation knew no bounds on finding that his hated rival had obtained the conduct of the war against Mithridates. By illegal and violent methods he contrived to get Sulla superseded and himself appointed to the command. But Sulla, who was at Nola at the head of six legions, determined to assert his claim by force, and marched to Rome, caring not that all his officers but one had deserted him. Rome, for the first time, saw herself beleaguered by one of her own citizens. Sulla entered without resistance at the Porta Esquilina, bearing in his hand a torch, with which he fired some of the adjacent buildings. At the FORUM ESQUILINUM, which appears to have lain not far from the present church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, he fell in with Marius and his adherents. Within sight of his own trophies, the victor of the Teutons and Cimbri found himself compelled to retreat before his former lieutenant. An attempt to make a stand in the Subura, near the Temple of Tellus, proved unavailing; and

[1] Vell. Pat. ii. 12 (who, however, attributes the death of the insurgents to the design of Marius); Liv. *Ep.* lxix.; App. *B. C.* i. 32.

Marius, flying through the Forum to the Porta Trigemina, took the road to Ostia.[1]

The victory of Sulla and the aristocratic party was now complete. This time he used his success with comparative moderation. Considerable changes were indeed made in the constitution; the tribunician power was greatly curtailed, and three hundred new senators were appointed; but the proscription, now for the first time instituted, contained only twelve names, including those of Marius and Sulpicius. Marius succeeded in escaping to Africa; the bloody heads of most of the other proscribed persons were affixed to the tribune. But Rome continued to be rent by faction, and while Sulla was engaged in the Mithridatic war, Marius contrived to return. Octavius and Cinna, the consuls of B.C. 87, were of different parties; Octavius espoused the patrician cause, Cinna the plebeian; the adherents of each, armed with knives or daggers, met in the Forum to decide their quarrel by force. The use of the knife seems first to have become common at Rome during these civil dissensions, and has unhappily descended to the modern Romans. Octavius lived upon the Palatine, in a house afterwards replaced by that of Scaurus, of which Clodius ultimately became the possessor. On hearing of the tumult, Octavius rushed with his adherents down the Sacra Via into the Forum. A dreadful slaughter now ensued: many of the new Italian citizens, whom Cinna had caused to be presented with the franchise, were slain; Cinna was driven out of the city, and deprived of his consulship, and L. Cornelius Merula[2] was appointed

[1] App. *B. C.* i. 58 sq.; Plut. *Sulla*, 9.

[2] The family of Merula, belonging to the gens Cornelia, though not much known in history, must have been a substantial one, if, as it seems probable, they gave name to the still existing Via in

in his stead. Marius took advantage of these disturbances to return. He landed at Telamon, and joined Cinna at the head of 6,000 men whom he had collected. The Samnites also declared in his favour. Rome was now menaced by three armies. Cinna, in conjunction with Carbo, sat down before the Janiculum, into which he was clandestinely admitted by the commandant; but he was immediately driven out again by the consuls. Sertorius was at the head of another army, higher up on the same bank of the Tiber; while Marius with his forces captured Ostia, and distressed Rome by seizing the corn-ships, and the magazines in various towns. Ultimately Marius, Cinna, Carbo, and Sertorius formed a junction on the Via Appia, about twelve miles from the Porta Capena; while Octavius, Crassus, and Metellus, the leaders of the conservative party, retired to the Alban Mount. Cinna having advanced his camp close to the Porta Capena, the senate despatched envoys to negotiate with him. Cinna received them in his curule chair, as if still in possession of the consulate; at his side stood Marius, whose silence expressed his indignation more eloquently than words. When the envoys invited him to enter the city, he only condescended to reply that it was illegal for an exile to do so. The tribes were immediately summoned to abrogate the decree for his banishment. But Marius waited not for the completion of an act which, under the circumstances, was but an idle ceremony. Surrounded by his body-guard, he entered the gates. The slaves and desperadoes who composed it, the fit and willing instruments of his vengeance, slew all whom he did not salute. The most considerable men of Sulla's party fell in this manner, or avoided such a

Merulana, which runs from Sta. Maria Maggiore to the Lateran. See Ampère, *Hist. Rom. à Rome*, t. iv. p. 365, note.

fate only by suicide. Octavius, who had returned to Rome, met a more honourable death, and one more befitting his high office. He had retired to the Janiculum with a few patrician friends and faithful soldiers; where, seated on his curule chair, and surrounded with all the emblems of his dignity, like the senators and patricians at the capture of Rome by the Gauls, he patiently awaited his assassins. He was slain by one Censorinus, despatched for that purpose; his head was cut off and suspended to the Rostra. Among many other distinguished men sacrificed by Marius to his vengeance was M. Antonius, the famous orator. Q. Catulus, the partaker of Marius' triumph over the Cimbri, who besought his life on his knees, was compelled to commit suicide. But the perpetrator of these horrors was soon to feel himself the stroke of fate. He had caused himself to be named consul for the seventh time, with Cinna as his colleague, for the year B.C. 86; but he had not enjoyed his dignity more than eighteen days, when he expired, after a short illness, of a pleurisy, in the seventy-first year of his age.[1]

During the next three or four years Sulla continued to be engaged in Greece and Asia, and the Marian faction was predominant at Rome. Order reigned in the capital, or rather all opposition was for a while suppressed; but it was the silence of terror, to be broken at the first opportunity. The anxiety occasioned by numerous portents betrayed the inquietude of the public mind. But the only person who appears to have suffered at this period was Sulla. While he was gaining victories for the republic, his house was demolished, his villas burnt, his wife compelled to fly with her children. Sulla, how-

[1] For this period in general, see Appian, *B. C.* i.; Plut. in *Marius* and *Sylla;* Vell. Pat. ii. 11-23 Liv. *Epit.* lxvi.-lxxx.

ever, let his adversaries have their way till he had brought the war with Mithridates to a successful conclusion, B.C. 84; and at the beginning of the following year he returned to Italy. He had previously written to the senate, recounting his services, upbraiding them for their ingratitude, and threatening a speedy vengeance. When he landed at Brundusium, he had only between 30,000 and 40,000 men; but they were veteran troops, inured to service and flushed with victory. The Marian party had five times that number, and might reckon on the support of the discontented Italians. But they had lost their leader, Cinna; they had no general of any eminence; their troops were scattered in various places, and a great part of them was ready to desert to the standards of a commander like Sulla. Cn. Pompeius, in particular, who now makes his first appearance in history at the early age of twenty-two, privately raised three legions in Picenum, where he had large estates, to support the cause of Sulla. Several other distinguished and influential men also offered their services.

It was in the year B.C. 83, while parties remained in this state, and nothing decisive had yet been done, that the Capitoline temple was destroyed by fire. Its destruction, according to Tacitus, was the act of an incendiary;[1] but whether it was done by the Marian faction or that of Sulla, or what was the motive of the perpetrator, is unknown. It had now existed in its original state four centuries and a quarter.

The consuls for the year B.C. 82 were Papirius Carbo and C. Marius, son of the conqueror of the Cimbri, but himself a mere "nominis umbra." On marching against Sulla he is said to have carried off from various temples,

[1] "Privata fraude."—*Hist.* iii. 72.

and especially from the ruins of that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 13,000 pounds weight of gold.[1] Defeated with his allies, the Samnites, on the plain of Pimpinara, he shut himself up in Prænestе, and Sulla, leaving one of his officers to blockade him there, marched straight upon Rome. If the younger Marius possessed not the talents of his father, he at least equalled him in cruelty. He employed the interval before Sulla could reach Rome to despatch orders for the murder of Sulla's principal adherents. It was on this occasion that the learned and virtuous Pontifex Maximus, Q. Mucius Scævola, was murdered. Four years before, upon the death of the elder Marius, Scævola had already been insulted by the mock ceremony of an immolation to the *manes* of that butcher. The ancient usage of a human sacrifice at funerals had now been superseded by those gladiatorial combats in which the victims fell by one another's hands; but Fimbria, the brutal tribune, revived at least the image of the primitive custom by inflicting on the Pontifex a wound, so that his blood should bedew the funeral pile of Marius. By one of those ferocious jokes which find their parallel only amidst the butcheries of the French revolution, Scævola was now accused in gladiatorial terms of having received the blow on the former occasion in a cowardly manner ("quod parcius corpore telum recepisset").[2] The Pontifex took refuge at the eternal fires which burnt on the altar of Vesta, but the solemnity of that holy place failed to inspire his assassins with awe, and the blood of the murdered priest besprinkled the statue of the goddess.[3] Like the leaders

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 5; Val. Max. vi. 6, 4.

[2] Val. Max. ix. 11, 2; cf. Cic. *Pro Roscio Am.* 12.

[3] Cic. *De Orat.* iii. 3; Lucan, ii. 126; Florus, iii. 21, 21. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 26), however, says that Scævola was killed, along with

of the Reign of Terror in France, most of these butchers suffered themselves violent and horrible deaths. The younger Marius perished soon after by suicide, while attempting to escape through a common sewer from Prænestе.

Meanwhile Rome had narrowly escaped destruction. Pontius Telesinus and L. Lamponius Gutta, at the head of the Samnites and Lucanians, after an abortive attempt to relieve Prænestе, had marched upon the capital with the avowed purpose of razing it to the ground, and had encamped on the spot occupied by the Gauls after the battle of the Allia. Fortunately Sulla arrived just in time to avert such a catastrophe. Before his arrival, Claudius, at the head of a band of young patricians, had made a desperate and forlorn assault upon an army of 50,000 Italians, which, of course, only resulted in their own destruction. Rome was filled with dismay, expecting every moment the entrance of the victorious bands. But towards midday Sulla's van, consisting of a body of cavalry, was descried, and soon after Sulla himself arrived with the bulk of his army. He ranged his troops before the Porta Collina, in the hollow between the Quirinal and Pincian, near the present Villa Ludovisi, and though the day was far advanced he resolved to

other victims, in the Curia Hostilia. The sprinkled statue must be a strange rhetorical exaggeration of Cicero's; for, according to Ovid, Vesta had no statue:

> Esse diu stultus Vestæ simulacra putavi,
> Mox didici curvo nulla subesse tholo.
> Ignis inextinctus templo celatur in illo;
> Effigiem nullam Vesta nec ignis habent.
>
> *Fast.* vi. 295.

Ovid here, like Horace, calls the building a temple, though it was none in the proper sense of the word, but only an *ædes sacra*.

charge the enemy immediately. A Temple of Venus Erycina, which stood just outside the Colline Gate, may have inspired him with confidence. He was an assiduous devotee of that goddess, and he is said to have seen her the night before in a dream, fighting for him in the first ranks. But on this occasion Mars at least was unpropitious, and in spite of the exertions and personal valour of Sulla, he was defeated. His troops fled in disorder towards the Porta Collina, bearing down and trampling on a great many citizens who had come out to see the battle; and the enemy were only prevented from entering the gate with the fugitives by the letting down of a sort of portcullis, which crushed a number of men. On the other hand, Crassus, with the right wing of the army, was victorious; and he succeeded in driving back the confederates to Antemnæ, near the confluence of the Tiber and the Anio. Sulla joined Crassus here on the following morning, when Antemnæ was taken, and the confederates, who had suffered great loss, were in full retreat. A body of three thousand of them laid down their arms on condition of pardon. But when Sulla entered Rome he caused them to be shut up, with about the same number of prisoners, in the Villa Publica. On the third day after the battle he convoked the senate in the Temple of Bellona, which stood near that building. He had ordered his troops to cut down all the prisoners; and while he was addressing the senate, the hearts of the Conscript Fathers were chilled with terror by the shrieks and dying groans of 6,000 men. Sulla, after rebuking their emotion, calmly continued his discourse: "Trouble not yourselves," he exclaimed, "with what is passing without; it is only some rascals that I have ordered to be punished!"

A fitting prelude to the horrors that were to follow.

In cold, calculating cruelty, Sulla must be allowed the pre-eminence among the men of that period. He drew up his list of proscriptions with much method, subjecting it to several revisions; it is said to have contained between 4,000 and 5,000 names,[1] and was posted up in the Forum like the edicts of the prætors. We may fancy with what interest the names were perused. The inquisitive reader might, perchance, light upon his own! The conjuncture seems to have been used, like the Reign of Terror in France, to get rid of private enemies or those whose death was desirable. There was a general license to slay.[2] The heads of the victims were hung in grim array around the tribune; among them was that of Marius, the youthful look of which excited the jocularity of Sulla. But the space sufficed not. The superabundant heads were displayed around the Lacus Servilius, at the top of the Vicus Jugarius, a street now pretty nearly represented by the Via della Consolazione. Cicero, in his speech for Roscius, makes a jocose allusion to the subject, comparing the Servilian lake to that of Trasimene.[3] Sulla, calmly seated at the tribunal of the prætor, amid these bloody trophies of his victory, employed himself in selling the confiscated estates of the proscribed, and in bestowing on his infamous tools the revenues of whole towns and provinces.

Sulla caused himself to be appointed dictator before the close of the year B.C. 82, an office which had been in abeyance considerably more than a century. The times were evidently approaching when the sword was to give

[1] Val. Max. ix. 2, 1.

[2] "Quisquis voluit, occidit."—Florus, iii. 21, 25.

[3] "Multos occisos non ad Trasimenum lacum sed ad Servilium vidimus."—*Pro Rosc. Am.* 32. Cf. Senec. *Prov.* 3; Festus, p. 290 (Müll.).

Rome a master. Sulla, however, was not prepared to seize the supreme power in perpetuity. He suffered the Republic to exist, and consuls to be elected in the usual manner, and after enjoying the dictatorship three years, he retired into private life. The time was soon to come when Cæsar, with less cruelty, was also to display less moderation. It may be, however, that a failure of health and energy was among the causes of Sulla's retirement, for he died the following year at his villa at Puteoli, after suffering some time from a disgusting disease, the morbus pediculosus. He employed his dictatorship in making many alterations in the constitution in favour of his own views and party; but these enter not into the scope of the present work. What he did in the city is more to our purpose. He celebrated a splendid triumph in B.C. 81 for his victory over Mithridates, and caused a gilt equestrian statue of himself to be erected before the Rostra, with the inscription, "Cornelio Sullæ Imperatori Felici." The name of "Felix" he affected, as believing himself the favourite of the gods, and especially of Venus; and if the epithet be interpreted "fortunate" rather than "happy," it may not be inappropriate. As enjoying the protection of Venus, he also called himself Epaphroditus. Sulla was extremely desirous of leaving a splendid and lasting monument of himself by rebuilding the Capitoline temple, for the adornment of which he caused to be transported to Rome columns from the temple of the Olympian Zeus at Athens.[1] He did not, however, live to rededicate it. Its restoration appears to have been still going on, under the superintendence of Q. Lutatius Catulus, in the year B.C. 62, when Cæsar became prætor, and endeavoured to supplant Catulus in

[1] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 5.

that office by a vote of the people.[1] Sulla's vexation at the slowness of the work was the proximate cause of his death. A tax had been imposed on the Italian cities for the restoration of the temple. Granius, decurio of Puteoli, from daily expectation of Sulla's death, having kept back the contribution of that place, the ex-dictator sent for him, and caused him to be strangled in his presence. This paroxysm of anger proved fatal to himself. He burst a blood-vessel by the immoderate exertion of his voice, and vomited up his last breath, says the historian, mixed with threats and blood.[2] Sulla also erected two temples or monuments to Hercules. One of these, however, the HERCULES VICTOR, or HERCULES SULLANUS, of the *Notitia*, which stood on the Esquiline, near the scene of his victory over Marius, was perhaps only a statue. The other, which was a temple dedicated to HERCULES CUSTOS, was erected in the district of the Circus Flaminius, near the Villa Publica, where he had massacred the legions.[3] As the former monument commemorated a victory, so perhaps the latter was emblematical of the bloody means which he adopted to secure his ascendency. He also appears to have restored and improved the Curia Hostilia.[4] He was honoured, after some debate, with a public funeral. The body was conveyed to Rome in a gilded litter bearing the emblems of royalty, and escorted by a body of cavalry; his veterans hastened from all parts to swell the funeral pomp; in front were borne the axes and other ensigns of dictatorial dignity, as if he had never deposed it. The corpse was burnt on a pyre in the Field of Mars, whither the patrician ladies had brought an enormous mass of incense and perfumes; and the ashes are supposed to

[1] Suet. *Cæs.* 15. [2] Val. Max. ix. 3, 8; cf. Plut. *Sull.* 37.
[3] Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 209. [4] Dion Cass. xl. 50; *Plin. H. N.* xxxiv. 12.

have been deposited in a magnificent tomb which occupied the site of one of the churches in the present Piazza del Popolo.

Pompey, surnamed the Great, and Cæsar, who, though he did not affect that appellation, was a much greater man, succeeded respectively to the principles of the Sullan and Marian factions, if, indeed, the term "principle" may be applied to what became more and more every day only a selfish struggle for power. Cato, Cicero, and a few others, endeavoured to arrest the downfall of their country, and to maintain the ancient Roman constitution; but the best abilities and the most virtuous intentions were powerless in that stirring crisis, unless backed by daring energy and undaunted resolution. Both Pompey and Cæsar had family connections with the leaders whom they succeeded. Pompey had married the step-daughter of Sulla, and Cæsar was the nephew of Marius. Pompey had served under the standards of his father-in-law, and on the return of Marius to Rome, his house upon the Palatine had been pillaged. It was probably owing to this circumstance that he transferred his residence to the CARINÆ, also a brilliant quarter of Rome, though not so aristocratic as the Palatine. Virgil characterized the district, in his time, with the epithet of "lautæ."[1] It was a family house which Pompey inhabited here, situated near the Temple of Tellus, in the neighbourhood of the present S. Pietro in Vincoli. It appears to have been of modest pretensions, but elegant. After his victory over the pirates, he adorned its exterior with beaks of captured vessels, and had it painted within with trees, in resemblance of a forest. Vanity was

[1] "Passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis."—*Æn.* viii. 361.

Pompey's ruling passion. After his successful campaign in Africa, B.C. 81, Sulla, then dictator, allowed him the honour of a triumph. It was celebrated with much magnificence; but Pompey was compelled to forego the pleasure of exhibiting to the Romans the novel spectacle of a triumphal car drawn by elephants, as the Porta Triumphalis was not wide enough to admit the entrance of such unwieldy animals. He consoled himself by exhibiting to the Romans the first elephant hunt.

Other men prominently connected with the history of the city at this period are Licinius Crassus and Licinius Lucullus. Crassus is best known for his enormous wealth, which perhaps was partly inherited, though he is supposed to have acquired a great deal in the Sullan proscriptions. But though avarice was his master passion, he was no mean soldier. His most striking military achievement was the defeat of Spartacus, the leader of the revolted slaves, in B.C. 71. Spartacus lost his life in the engagement. Such a victory, however important, being gained over persons of so vile a condition, Crassus could not claim for it the honours of a regular triumph, but was obliged to content himself with an ovation. The ovation derived its name from the victim with which it was celebrated, a sheep, instead of the bull sacrificed in triumphs. The victor wore a myrtle crown instead of the laurel; he entered the city on foot, accompanied only by a crowd of flute-players, knights, and plebeians, and frequently without the soldiers who had shared his victory. But in the following year Crassus became the colleague of Pompey in the consulship. Crassus, as we have already intimated, dwelt upon the Palatine, in the house which had belonged to the tribune Drusus. He is said to have purchased

the houses of many of the victims of the proscription. During this period, domestic architecture was daily making vast strides at Rome. M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was consul in B.C. 78, had erected one of the most splendid mansions hitherto seen in the city;[1] but before the establishment of the Empire it had been eclipsed by scores of more magnificent houses. That of Crassus was called from its beauty the "Venus of the Palatine." Its atrium was adorned with columns of the marble of Mount Hymettus. Yet it was surpassed by the neighbouring house of Catulus; and at a later period that of Aquillius, on the Viminal, was considered the most magnificent in Rome. Between the time of Sulla and the establishment of the Empire, house-rent, and consequently the value of houses, appear to have risen rapidly. The whole rent of the house inhabited by Sulla, of which he occupied only a part, was about £45.[2] Towards the close of the second century B.C., the augur Æmilius Lepidus was cited before the censors for giving 6,000 sesterces, or about £53, a year for his house, a rent quite below the dignity of a senator a hundred years after.[3] In the time of Cicero, £88 was a moderate rent, and £264 an extravagant one.[4]

Lucullus is best known by his wealth and luxury; yet he took no mean share in the military operations of his time, and for his victories over Mithridates and Tigranes, and settlement of Asia, obtained at length, after much opposition, the tardy honour of a triumph (B.C. 63). It forms no part of our plan to describe the magnificent villas which he possessed in various parts of Italy. One of these, beneath Tusculum, within sight

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 8 and 24.
[2] Plut. *Sull.* 1.
[3] Vell. Pat. ii. 10.
[4] *Pro Cæl.* 7.

of Rome, occupied the site of the modern Frascati, and is said to have resembled a small town. His most striking possession at Rome was his gardens on the Pincian Hill. The modern traveller who from the grounds of the Villa Medici surveys the noble prospect of the city and surrounding country, walks perhaps only in a part, but no doubt the best part, of the gardens of Lucullus. Their situation is fixed by the arches of Agrippa's aqueduct, the Aqua Virgo, which ran close under them.[1] Here also he had a celebrated gallery of pictures and statues, which contained some of the *chefs d'œuvre* of antiquity. In the Velabrum, on the route of the triumphal processions, he built a TEMPLE to FORTUNE, or FELICITY, in front of which the axle of Cæsar's car broke down on the occasion of one of his triumphs.[2] He also erected on the Capitol a colossus of Apollo, 30 cubits, or 45 feet, high, brought from Apollonia in Pontus; a fitting companion to the colossal Jove of Carvilius already mentioned. The luxury of those times may be imagined from the circumstance that a single supper given by Lucullus, in a hall called that of Apollo, cost 50,000 denarii, or between £1,700 and £1,800. In spite, however, of his luxury, Lucullus was not a mere sensualist. He was fond of literature, and the friend and patron of many talented and learned Greeks, among whom may be particularly named the poet Archias.[3] Lucullus appears to have bestowed much attention upon horticulture, and first introduced the cherry tree from Asia into Europe.[4]

[1] Front. *Aq.* 22. The MSS. read *Lucilianis;* but the emendation Lucullianis seems certain.

[2] Dion Cassius, lxiii. 21.

[3] Cic. *Pro Archia*, 3 sqq.

[4] Plut. *Lucul.* 39 sqq.; Cic. *De Leg.* iii. 13, *De Off.* i. 39; Vell. Pat. ii. 33; Plin. *H. N.* viii. 78, xiv. 17, xv. 25.

Among other remarkable Roman gardens at this period must also be mentioned those of Servilius and Sallust. The gardens of Servilius, which lay on a declivity of the Aventine, were adorned with Greek statues. They were the frequent resort of Cato, who was the brother, and of Cæsar, who was the lover, of Servilia.[1] Sallust, the historian, formed his gardens, which lay, as we have before indicated, between the Pincian and Quirinal hills, with the proceeds of his extortions in Numidia. The fact of their ultimately becoming imperial property bears witness to their beauty. Nero is the first emperor whom we know to have been in possession of them; and subsequently we read of Vespasian, Nerva, and Aurelian residing in them.[2] The house or villa which they contained stood near the site of the subsequent Porta Salaria. They are also said to have embraced a circus and baths. The former may have been the place where the Ludi Apollinares were performed when their celebration in the usual place, the Circus Maximus, was prevented by an inundation of the Tiber.[3] The Anonymus of Einsiedeln records the existence of some THERMÆ SALLUSTIANÆ near the present church of Sta. Susanna. These objects gave the property much importance, and we are not surprised to find that the neighbourhood bore the name of *Salustricum*, or *Sallustium*, down almost to modern times.[4]

L. Æmilius Paullus, who, in spite of his surname, was in reality a Lepidus, and brother of the triumvir,[5]

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 4.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 47; Dion Cass. lxvi. 10; Vopisc. *Aurel.* 49.

[3] Liv. xxx. 38.

[4] And. Fulvius, *De Urbe Ant.* p. 135; L. Fauno, *Ant. di Rom.* lib. iv. c. 10.

[5] Vell. Pat. ii. 67; cf. Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, B. i. S. 5.

must also be mentioned here as an improver of the city. In his ædileship in B.C. 53, he certainly rebuilt the Basilica Æmilia et Fulvia, out of the money, it is said, which he received from Cæsar as a bribe, and it was afterwards called from him BASILICA PAULLI. He is also said to have erected an entirely new Basilica, which likewise bore the name of Basilica Paulli; but we cannot even offer a conjecture as to its situation, as we find only one Basilica Paulli mentioned by ancient writers.[1]

During the few years of expiring liberty which intervened between the dictatorship of Sulla and the establishment of the Empire, Rome was frequently the theatre of scenes which might call to mind a city taken by assault. In the dissolution of all law and order, faction and violence ruled uncontrolled. One of the most prominent figures in these times is Cicero. A native of Arpinum, and consequently a fellow-countryman of Marius, Cicero was sent at an early age to be educated at Rome, where the family possessed a house in the Carinæ. The exchange of the boyish toga prætexta for the toga pura or virilis, a ceremony usually performed at the age of fourteen, was in his case deferred two years longer. At Rome it was a sort of public act, and identified the youthful citizen with the state. During the Liberalia in March, a lad was conducted by his father, or nearest relative, to the tribunal of the prætor in the Forum, and there, in presence as it were of the Roman people, assumed the robe which denoted his fitness for the active duties of life. Having received the congratulations of his friends, he was led by the Via Sacra to the Capitol; and, after solemnizing the

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 16; Plut. *Cæsar*, 29; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 26.

entrance on his new condition by a sacrifice, returned home to spend the remainder of the day in festivity.

Some years were still to be passed in study under the tutorship of the augur, Q. Mucius Scævola, before Cicero, at the age of twenty-five, again appeared before the same tribunal in the character of an advocate. The prætor's judgment-seat stood on the south-eastern side of the Forum, near the Arcus Fabianus. Originally it was on the Comitium, at the western end of the Forum, but it was moved by the tribune L. Scribonius Libo about the middle of the second century B.C. Near it was the PUTEAL, a consecrated place resembling a well, where, it was said, the whetstone of Attius Navius, the augur, had been buried. From its reparation and re-dedication by Libo, it obtained the name of PUTEAL LIBONIS, or PUTEAL SCRIBONIANUM, and became the subject of frequent allusion by Roman authors. The prætor urbanus, however, appears to have continued to sit on the Comitium. There was also on the Forum before the temple of Castor another tribunal called AURELIUM, apparently from its having been erected by M. Aurelius Cotta, consul in B.C. 74. It was before these benches that Cicero, Hortensius, and other advocates delivered their forensic pleadings. These tribunals were made of wood, and were capable of being removed when the whole area of the Forum was required for gladiatorial shows or other purposes.[1]

Having mentioned Hortensius, we shall here devote a line or two to a man who was second only to Cicero in eloquence, and who, in the early part at least of their lives, was his chief opponent. Hortensius was a man

[1] Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 8, 15; *Pro Cluentio*, 34; *In Pis.* 5; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6, 35, et ibi Schol. Cruq.; Ascon. *ad Cic. Mil.* Arg. p. 34.

of softer character and less principle than Cicero. He was too often the complaisant apologist of aristocratic peculation; nor did he always scruple to avail himself of the license of those times to enrich himself by fraudulent acquisitions. He it was who defended the infamous Verres against the accusations of Cicero. His eloquence was of the florid and Asiatic kind, his action elaborate and redundant. Yet it must have possessed much character and grace, or Æsopus and Roscius, the celebrated actors of those days, would hardly, reversing the common practice, have frequented the Forum when Hortensius spoke to take lessons from him in their own art: an anecdote which conveys a striking idea of the ancient forensic pleadings. Hortensius lived upon the Palatine in a house afterwards occupied by Augustus, but which nevertheless was of modest pretensions. On the other hand, he possessed many sumptuous villas in various parts of Italy, besides a *Suburbanum* near the Porta Flumentana. His luxurious, not to say effeminate, habits may be guessed from his style of dress, from his applying wine instead of water to his fruit-trees, and from his tame fish, for the death of one of which, a favourite muræna, he is said to have shed tears.[1] On the whole, we may conclude that the profession of an advocate was far from being one of the worst at Rome in those times.

Some of Cicero's earlier pleadings display considerable courage. His defence of Roscius of Ameria against the accusations of a powerful freedman of Sulla's, and the bantering allusion already mentioned to the heads at the Servilian fountain, were made while Sulla was still alive.

[1] Val. Max. ix. 4, 1; Varr. *R. R.* iii. 81, 17; Plin. *H. N.* ix. 55; Macr. *Sat.* ii. 9; Suet. *Aug.* 72; Cic. *Brut.* 88 sqq.

But Cicero's consulate, with the prosecution of Catiline, is the marking period of his life. Catiline, with his haggard visage, his uncertain step, now slow, now fast, the wildness of his whole appearance, is the *beau idéal* of a ruined, conspiring noble of those days. His house, situated on the further side of the Palatine, towards the Circus,[1] was well fitted, by its comparative retirement, for the assembly of such a crew of profligates, parricides, and convicted criminals as were to aid him in seizing the supreme power; but even here he addressed them not till he had drawn them into the most secret part of the building.[2] The example of Sulla was enticing, but misleading; for it was evident that none but a man who enjoyed the affections of the soldiery could be the future master of Rome. Prodigies had announced the approach of troublous times. The Capitol had been struck with lightning; the brazen tablets of the laws were melted by the stroke, the figure of the wolf, the nurse of Romulus, was overthrown.[3] By the counsel of Etruscan soothsayers, the statue of the Capitoline Jove, which had previously looked towards the west, was now turned towards the east, in the direction of the Forum and Curia,[4] by way of propitiation.

Cicero pronounced his first oration against Catiline in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, near the Porta Mugionis: a place which appears to have been chosen for the greater security, as it was removed from the tumults of the

[1] Its atrium was subsequently included in the palace of Augustus. Suet. *Ill. Gramm.* 17; cf. Ampère, *Hist. Rom. à Rome*, t. iv. p. 438 sq.

[2] Sall. *Cat.* 20.

[3] The bronze wolf in the Capitoline Museum has holes in its hind legs, which some ascribe to this catastrophe.

[4] Cic. *Cat.* iii. 8.

Forum, and near the houses on the Palatine of some of the principal senators. The second Catilinarian was delivered in the Temple of Concord, after which Cicero descended into the Forum, and made his third oration from the Rostra to the people. The fourth Catilinarian was also spoken in the Temple of Concord, where the senate, assembled to pronounce upon the doom of the conspirators, sentenced them to death (Dec. 5, B.C. 63). Lentulus, the principal of them since the escape of Catiline into Etruria, had already been deposed from the prætorship, and committed to the custody of his relative, the ædile P. Lentulus Spinther, who lived upon the Palatine. Thither Cicero went at the head of a guard, and, having taken Lentulus into custody, led him along the Sacra Via and over the Forum to the Tullianum. The other condemned persons, Cethegus, Gabinius, Statilius, and Cæparius, were also brought to the same dungeon; and when all five had been strangled, Cicero, followed by the greater part of the senate, descended to the Forum by the steps called Scalæ Gemoniæ, and announced to the people the execution of the criminals, by the single word *Vixerunt*,—"They have ceased to live."[1]

The most remarkable act of Cicero's consulship and life had terminated with a success and brilliancy which he himself was never tired of celebrating; but it had awakened the anger of the Marian and revolutionary party, at the head of which was C. Julius Cæsar. It is a singular feature of those times that a *novus homo* like Cicero should have to defend the old Roman constitution against the descendants of some of the most ancient and

[1] Sall. *Cat.* 50 sqq.; Cic. *In Cat.* iii. and iv., *Pro Flacco*, 40, &c. Plut. *Sic.* 10 sqq.

illustrious patrician families of Rome. The gens Julia, to which Cæsar belonged, was one of the few that could boast a pure Latin descent, and even further pretended to trace its origin to Iulus, the son of Æneas. The Sergia gens, of which Catiline's family were members, also claimed a companion of Æneas for their ancestor. In like manner Clodius, another supporter of the revolutionary movement, belonged to the ancient race of the Claudii;[1] and counted among his ancestors the notorious decemvir, and Appius Claudius Cæcus. These, however, were only seeking their own advantage in the ruin of their country; Cæsar, indeed, with a more lofty aim, and by nobler and better directed means; yet even he has been suspected of participating in Catiline's plot, and it is at least certain that he did his best to screen that conspirator from justice.

An intrigue of Clodius with Cæsar's wife, Pompeia, which, in the year after the detection of Catiline's conspiracy (B.C. 62), became a subject of public scandal, appears not to have dissolved the political friendship, at least, of Clodius and Cæsar. By the appointment which he had just obtained as Pontifex Maximus, Cæsar, a professed atheist, and reputed to be the husband of all the wives of Rome, had become the head of the state religion, and the inmate of the sanctuary of the Vestal virgins. For, by virtue of his office, the Regia, which as we have seen adjoined the Temple of Vesta, and had formerly been the residence of Numa, now became the abode of Cæsar. He had removed thither from the Subura, a quarter which he seems to have inhabited for the sake of courting popularity.

It happened that Cæsar's wife had to celebrate the

[1] The name is spelt indifferently Claudius and Clodius.

festival of the Bona Dea, from which men were strictly excluded; even a male mouse, says Juvenal, dared not show himself. To a libertine like Clodius it lent an additional zest to an adulterous intrigue to prosecute it in the face of such a prohibition, and that too with the wife and in the very house of the chief priest! To gain admittance he adopted the disguise of a female player on the lute. Although detected, he contrived, partly by violence, partly by bribery, to escape the punishment of his crime. At the head of his satellites he frightened the senators and overawed the Forum; he even burnt the TEMPLE OF THE CAMENÆ on the Cælian Hill, where the registers of the census were preserved, in order to annihilate every trace of his falsehoods and his debts.[1] The part which Cicero had taken in this affair entailed upon him ever after the enmity of Clodius. They were close neighbours on the Palatine. The house of Clodius stood at the north-western angle of the hill, and thus commanded a view of the Forum and Capitol. It had previously been the property of Cn. Octavius, then of Scaurus, who is said to have given for it the enormous sum of 14,800,000 sesterces, or about 130,000*l.*; from which its magnificence may be imagined. Its fine situation, perhaps the best in Rome, no doubt added to its value. Clodius had adorned it with numberless spoils of Greek paintings and statues.[2] We have already mentioned that the house of Cicero had formerly belonged to the tribune M. Livius Drusus. It stood close to that of Clodius, a little lower down on the declivity of the hill; a circumstance from which we may explain the proposal of the architect to build it so that it should not

[1] Cic. *Pro Mil.* 27.

[2] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24, s. 2; Cic. *Pro dom. ad Pont.* 43; Ascon. *ad Cic. Mil.* Arg.

be overlooked, as well as Cicero's threat to increase its height, so as to shut out Clodius from a view of the city.[1] Its atrium was adorned with columns of Greek marble 38 feet high,[2] which must have given it a very magnificent appearance. After Drusus' death, it became the property of Crassus, from whom Cicero purchased it a year or two after his consulate for a sum equal to about 30,000*l*. It was therefore far from being so magnificent a house as that of Clodius; yet its situation was almost equally good, and its proximity to the Forum and Curia must have recommended it to a man like Cicero. Cicero could now also call himself a neighbour of Cæsar's, who dwelt in the Regia hard by.[3]

Besides this house Cicero possessed villas at Tusculum, Arpinum, Antium, Astura, Formiæ, Cumæ, Pompeii, and one or two other places. To describe these lies not within our plan; but we must bestow a word or two on the Tusculan Villa, which lay within sight of Rome, and, from being the scene of the *Tusculanæ Disputationes*, is become a place of classical renown. Tusculum traced its origin to an earlier period than Rome, and claimed as its mythical founder Telegonus, son of Ulysses and Circe. It could look back with pride to the resistance it had made to the arms of Rome, and to the renowned families which it had produced, such as the Mamilii, the Fonteii, the Fulvii, the Porcii, and others. It was Cicero's favourite retreat, more perhaps from the convenience as well as beauty of its site, than from these associations. He could escape to it from the bustle of the city in about a couple of hours, and yet not be out of

[1] "Tollam altius tectum, non ut ego te despiciam, sed ne tu aspicias urbem eam, quam delere voluisti."—*De Harusp. Res.* 15.

[2] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 2.

[3] *Ad Famil.* v. 6: *Ad Att.* xii. 45.

the way of hearing the news; which, to a man of Cicero's pursuits and temper, must have been a very considerable recommendation. Tusculum was in fact a sort of Roman suburb, where many of the leading statesmen had villas; as Pompey, Lepidus, Lucullus, Scaurus, Hortensius, and others; so that Cicero might enjoy there the society of the town combined with the charms of the country. We see from his correspondence when in Cilicia how anxious he always was to learn what was going on at Rome; and at that time his curiosity might be partly gratified by a sort of gazette, called *Commentarium rerum urbanarum*, which appears to have come out in numbers, and is one of the earliest instances we meet with of anything like a newspaper.[1] His Tusculan Villa, like most of those of the ancient Romans, as well as some modern ones, was laid out in terraces; the higher and lower one he named, after the schools at Athens, the Lyceum and the Academy. He took great pains to adorn his villa with pictures, statues, busts, and other objects of *virtù*. The grounds contained a *xystus*, or *parterre*, divided into flower-beds. Commendatore Rosa has shown [2] that the ruins commonly pointed out as the house of Cicero are no such thing, but the remains of a reservoir, over which there had been a temple. Its real situation was lower down the side of the mountain, towards Frascati. A proof of it is that the stream called Crabra, often mentioned by Cicero,[3] must be sought near the Villa Aldobrandini. The tiny theatre above, near the ruins of Tusculum, suggests what a small, but select, audience may here have listened to the masterpieces of Plautus and Terence. The house of Cicero's son-in-

[1] *Ad Att.* viii. 2, 11. [2] Ap. Ampère, t. iv. p. 531.
[3] *Pro Balbo*, 20; *Ad Fam.* xvi. 18, &c.

law, Crassipes, who had married his daughter Tullia, served him also occasionally as a sort of Suburbanum. It was situated in a garden just outside the Porta Capena. Here he would sometimes sup when he wished to avoid a compulsory attendance in the senate, resembling our call of the house; and here it was that, after his reconciliation with Crassus, he took leave of the rich triumvir on his departure for that Parthian expedition from which he never returned.[1]

In connection with Cicero's more domestic life we must here briefly mention his friend Atticus, who with more prudence, if less patriotism, kept aloof from the turmoil of politics, and divided his time between the pursuit of wealth and the elegant pleasures of literature and art. The greater part of his life was spent in Greece, and especially at Athens; whence he added to his family name of Pomponius the surname of Atticus. His house at Rome was on the Quirinal, near the temples of Salus and Quirinus,[2] the former of which lay close to the Porta Salutaris, and the latter near the modern church of S. Andrea del Noviziato. Hence he probably dwelt near the Quattro Fontane. The building, as we are told by his friend Cornelius Nepos, was an old family house on which Atticus bestowed no more pains than just to keep it in proper repair; elegantly, but not sumptuously, furnished, and containing the choicest family of slaves, whether for literary or domestic purposes, of any residence in the city. Its chief ornament was a wood or park (silva).[3] This quiet, money-making, and saving man married his daughter to Agrippa, and thus became the grandfather of a Roman empress, Vipsania Agrippina, the consort of Tiberius. He was buried in

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 12. [2] Cic. *ad Att.* xii. 45; *De Leg.* i. 1.
[3] *Vita Att.* 13.

the tomb of his uncle Cæcilius, at the fifth mile-stone on the Appian Way, and therefore not a great way beyond the striking monument of Cæcilia Metella.[1]

But to return. The better to carry out his factious purposes, Clodius, with the aid of Cæsar, got himself adopted into a plebeian family, in order that he might become a tribune; which office he obtained in B.C. 59. Armed with this formidable power, Clodius, to gratify his own vengeance as well as to please Cæsar, soon made Rome too hot for Cicero, who, to avoid worse consequences, went into voluntary exile; and Clodius soon after procured his banishment to be decreed by law. Cicero, before his departure, had proceeded to the Capitol, and there dedicated a statue of Minerva; a significant hint that as Rome was about to be deprived of his own counsels, she stood the more in need of the goddess of wisdom. When he was gone his house upon the Palatine was pillaged, burnt, and razed by Clodius' myrmidons, and his wife Terentia compelled to take refuge among the neighbouring Vestals, whose superior was fortunately her sister. Cicero's villas at Tusculum and Formiæ experienced the same fate.

Having got rid of Cicero, Clodius next turned his arms against Pompey, who had assisted him to procure Cicero's banishment, and relegated Cato from Rome, by obtaining for him from the people a mission to the isle of Cyprus. Clodius seemed now to be sole master of Rome. He hired a troop of bandits to besiege Pompey in his house in the Carinæ, and threatened to level it as he had done that of Cicero; so that Pompey was forced to take refuge in his gardens, and surround himself with a numerous guard. Clodius also endeavoured

[1] *Vita Att.* 22.

to carry off Tigranes, king of Armenia, who was detained in Pompey's Alban villa, and he tampered with one of Pompey's own slaves to assassinate him in the midst of the senate. He seized the Temple of Castor, destroyed the steps leading up to it, and, having filled it with arms, made it the stronghold of revolt. At the Aurelian tribunal, in front of it, he openly enrolled in his service the most abandoned wretches, thus converting the very seat of justice into a lair of robbers and assassins. He even ventured to attack the consul Gabinius, and break his fasces. But these acts of violence produced a reaction, and Pompey, who had helped to banish Cicero, now became solicitous for his recall. The attempt to do so produced further riots, in which many persons lost their lives. Cicero's brother Quintus narrowly escaped in a nocturnal fray in the Forum. To oppose force by force, bands led by Sestius and Milo were organized against those of Clodius. The senate, having met in Marius' Temple of Honos et Virtus, called upon the cities of Italy to receive Cicero, and by way of counterbalancing the city mob invited to Rome the inhabitants of the municipal towns. Thus Rome, like Paris during the first revolution, though mistress of the nation, was herself torn by domestic faction. At length, after a hesitation which betrayed how utterly lost were all order and authority, the senate ventured to meet in the Curia Hostilia and decree Cicero's recall. The secret was that Cæsar, now in Gaul, had intimated his approbation of such a step. Clodius had served as a tool, and was thrown aside. In August, B.C. 57, the people, voting in their Comitia Centuriata in the Campus Martius, as the highest court of justice, reversed the decree for Cicero's banishment. In confident anticipation of this result, he was already on his way to Italy, and landed at

Brundusium the day after the decision of the Comitia (August 5th). He journeyed leisurely towards Rome, which he reached not till September, enjoying no doubt the respectful homage paid to him in all the towns and villages on the road. The senate, followed by an immense crowd of people, came out beyond the Porta Capena to meet and welcome him. A gilt chariot, drawn by horses magnificently caparisoned, was here in waiting for him; and as he thus, amid the acclamations of the spectators, proceeded along the Sacra Via, and over the Forum to the Capitol, to render thanks to the immortal gods for his return, he seemed to enjoy a triumph—the triumph of peace—equal to that of many a victorious general. Then, having withdrawn the Minerva which he had set up on the day of his exile, he returned, as he tells us, home: that is, probably, to the family house in the Carinæ, as his dwelling on the Palatine had been destroyed.

Not only destroyed, but also, so far as it lay in Clodius' power, its site appropriated, and its very memory obliterated. The factious tribune had caused a shrine and statue of Liberty to be erected where it had stood, but which was nothing else than the image of a Greek courtesan carried off from a tomb.[1] Clodius had also destroyed the neighbouring portico of Catulus, the erection of which out of the Cimbric spoils we have before recorded. In fact, he appears to have been desirous of appropriating all this side of the Palatine. He wanted to buy the house of the ædile Seius. Seius having declared that, so long as he lived, Clodius should not have it, Clodius caused him to be poisoned, and then bought his house under a feigned name! He was thus

[1] Cic. *Pro dom. ad Pont.* 42.

enabled to erect a portico 300 feet in length, in place of that of Catulus. The latter, however, was afterwards restored at the public expense.

Cicero obtained public grants for the restoration of his house, and of his Tusculan and Formian villas, but very far from enough to cover the losses he had suffered. The aristocratic part of the senate appears to have envied and grudged the boon to a *novus homo*, though it was to his abilities that they looked for protection.[1] He was advised not to rebuild his house on the Palatine, but to sell the ground. It was not in Cicero's temper to take such a course; but he was hampered ever after with debts. Clodius, who had been defeated but not beaten, still continued his persecutions. He organized a gang of street-boys, to call out under Cicero's windows, "Bread! bread!" His bands interrupted the dramatic performances on the Palatine at the Megalesian games, by rushing upon the stage. On another occasion, Clodius, at the head of his myrmidons, besieged the senate in the Temple of Concord.[2] He attacked Cicero in the streets to the danger of his life; and when he had begun to rebuild his house, drove away the masons, overthrew what part had been re-erected of Catulus' portico, cast burning torches into the house of Quintus Cicero, which he had hired next to his brother's on the Palatine, and consumed a great part of it. Clodius seemed to control the senate; the cries of the artizans whom he had hired, when they occupied the Græcostasis and the steps of the Curia, sufficed to disperse the senators.[3] At length, however, this violent man was to fall by violence. We shall here anticipate his end. Milo, a rival bully, who

[1] *Ad Att.* iv. 2. [2] Cic. *De Har. Resp.* 11; *Pro domo*, 5, 7.
[3] Cic. *ad Quint. Fr.* ii. 1.

espoused the patrician cause, was always surrounded with a troop of gladiators. In the year B.C. 53, both were candidates for public office; Milo for the consulate, Clodius for the prætorship. We may imagine the scenes of violence that occurred between two such ruffians. Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, describes how he saw a band of tatterdemalions with a lantern assembled at Clodius' door during the night; meanwhile Milo with his gladiators occupied the Campus Martius, and effectually hindered the Comitia being held there on the following day.[1] A little before, Clodius had besieged Milo in his house on the Germalus, or that part of the Palatine which overhangs the Velabrum; and Milo, to save his life, had been compelled to fly to the house of P. Sulla.[2] In January, B.C. 52, Milo and Clodius with their trains accidentally met near Bovillæ, on the Appian Way, when a quarrel ensued among their retainers, in which Clodius was killed. Sex. Tedius, a senator, who found his body lying in the road, had it conveyed to his house upon the Palatine; where Fulvia, the wife of Clodius, excited the sympathy of the people by her lamentations, and by showing them her husband's wounds. So great was the crowd that gathered round, that a senator was crushed to death. At length two tribunes caused the body to be carried to the Forum, where it was exposed, naked and disfigured with dirt and blood, before the Rostra. The tribunes then mounted the Rostra, and harangued the multitude, till, their passions having been inflamed, Clodius' brother persuaded them to take the body into the Curia, and there burn it, as a mark of contempt and an insult to the senate. A sort of funeral pile was hastily formed of the

[1] *Ad Att.* iv. 3. [2] *Ibid.*

tribunals on the Forum, benches, tables, writings, and other combustible materials at hand, which were then set on fire. The flames sufficed not to consume the corpse; but, as no doubt was the intention of the perpetrators, they caught the Curia and reduced it to ashes.[1] The Basilica Porcia and other neighbouring buildings shared the same fate. Such was the end of the ancient senate-house, which had lasted from the time of Tullus Hostilius. Night had now closed in, and the partisans of Clodius celebrated the funeral feast by the light of the conflagration. During several days Rome was abandoned to fire and sword. Order was at length restored by the arrival of Pompey at Rome. He was named sole consul, and caused some laws to be enacted for the repression of these disorders, for which purpose also he was empowered to levy troops. The senate, having assembled in the Campus Martius, authorized the sepulture of Clodius, and decreed that the Curia Hostilia, which had been repaired by Sulla, should be rebuilt by his son Faustus, and called in honour of that family, CURIA CORNELIA. But these last resolutions were not destined to be executed. Pompey, who had caused Milo to be brought to trial, was obliged during its progress to preserve order in the Forum with a band of soldiers. The shops were closed, and Rome wore an air of consternation. It was under such circumstances that Cicero rose to defend Milo, amid the hootings and threats of Clodius' adherents. Cicero spoke at the tribunal before the Temple of Castor; Pompey was seated at a distance, near the Temple of Saturn, at the upper end of the Forum; and, as M. Ampère observes, a knowledge of their respective situa-

[1] Dion Cass. xl. 49; Ascon. *ad Cic. p. Mil.* Arg. p. 34.

tions explains the passage in which Cicero, addressing Pompey, exclaims: "I appeal to you, and I raise my voice that you may hear me."[1]

It was not only a natural, but a necessary, consequence, that scenes like those we have just described should terminate at last in a military despotism. The first use of political society is the preservation of order and the safety of life and property. Where these are violated with impunity, year after year, by brutal demagogues and a lawless mob, the security afforded by a tyranny may be found a pleasant relief. The despotism of one man is, at all events, less extensively felt than that of thousands, and the cruelty and injustice of an irresponsible mob is a hundredfold more terrible than the capricious brutality of an individual. The Roman and the French revolutions teach the same lesson, and show that there can be no true liberty where there is no order and no respect for the laws. In France there was but one man capable of seizing the advantage offered by an unbridled democracy. In Rome there were two aspirants of equal pretensions, though not of equal ability; and thus the choice of a master had to be decided by a civil war. Pompey and Cæsar courted the favour of the people in the coming struggle by the benefits which they conferred upon them, not the least among which were the public works which they executed at Rome. To these, as our proper subject, we shall confine ourselves.

In B.C. 61, Pompey celebrated his third triumph with extraordinary splendour. Names of many eastern countries and kingdoms, of innumerable cities and castles,

[1] "Te enim jam appello, et ea voce ut me exaudire possis."—*Pro Mil.* 25. Cf. *Hist. Rom. à Rome*, t. iv. p. 584.

were exhibited on bronze tablets; barbaric pearl and gold now figured in the long-drawn procession in place of the masterpieces of Grecian art; captured kings, or their families, or the hostages they had delivered, testified the extent and completeness of his conquests. He himself appeared in a car resplendent with jewels, and wearing a purple chlamys which had belonged to Alexander the Great. A dress which might readily suggest the extent of his aspirations!

Pompey now rested from his military labours, and sought only to enjoy and turn to the best account the glory which he had earned. After his triumph he erected a TEMPLE to MINERVA, in which a pompous inscription recorded his achievements.[1] This temple has given name to the church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, near the Pantheon, built, as its title indicates, over the ancient temple. The beautiful statue of Minerva, now in the Vatican, called the Minerva Giustiniani, was found in the adjoining Dominican convent. Pompey also erected a Temple to HERCULES VICTOR in the Forum Boarium.[2] Might these two temples have been designed to typify the union of wisdom and force, as the source of his victories? The erection of a stone theatre (B.C. 55), the first of the kind at Rome, was a splendid gift to the people, and might go far to counterbalance the popularity which Cæsar was now acquiring by his victories in Gaul. Hitherto Rome had seen nothing but wooden theatres, mostly of a temporary kind; some of which, however, especially that of M. Scaurus, in B.C. 59, had been constructed with great magnificence. It could accommodate 80,000 persons, and had between its nume-

[1] The inscription is recorded by Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 27.

[2] Vitr. iii. 3; Calend. Amit.

rous pillars 3,000 bronze statues.[1] One of these wooden theatres had been overthrown in a great storm and inundation, which also carried away the Pons Sublicius, and destroyed many houses and vessels, in B.C. 60. The falling in of the theatre caused the death of a great many spectators.[2] A prejudice still existed at Rome against the erection of a stone theatre, which, however, Pompey eluded by an artifice. He erected at the top of it a temple to Venus Victrix; and thus the benches seemed to serve as steps by which it might be reached. The theatre was in the Campus Martius, close to the modern Campo di Fiori, and remains of it may still be discerned in the Palazzo Pio and the adjoining cellars and stables.[3] The curvature of the walls is still indicated by that of the streets near the Palazzo Pio. The little church of Sta. Maria in Grotta Pinta was so called from its having been constructed in one of the vaults which supported the benches, in which were mural paintings. Here also was an inscription to Venus Victrix. The adjoining Piazza dei Satiri owes its name to the discovery of two satyrs, now in the court of the Capitoline Museum, which are supposed to have adorned the *scena*, or stage. The theatre was so arranged as to serve for the exhibition of gladiators and wild beasts as well as dramatic entertainments. It was capable of holding 40,000 persons.[4] It appears not to have been completed till Pompey's third consulate, in B.C. 52, to judge from the anecdote of his hesitation whether he should call himself consul *tertio* or *tertium*. This knotty grammatical point was referred to Cicero, who evaded the

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24, 7. [2] Dion Cass. xxxvii. 58.

[3] Canina, *Ed. ant. di R.* t. iii. p. 7 sqq., iv. pl. cliii—clviii.

[4] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24, 7; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 20; Tertull. *De Spect.* 10.

difficulty by suggesting that only the letters *tert* should be inscribed.[1] Pompey celebrated the opening of his theatre with some magnificent combats of wild beasts, in which five hundred lions and twenty elephants are said to have been killed. But altogether the fortunate soldier seems to have displayed in these entertainments more magnificence than taste. Cicero, who loved not such shows, but who attended out of complaisance towards Pompey, severely criticizes them, and ridicules the introduction of six hundred mules in the *Clytæmnestra*, the three thousand cups in the *Trojan Horse*, and the manœuvres of the infantry and cavalry.[2] Pompey seems to have forestalled Horace's subject of complaint many years after:

> Quatuor aut plures aulæa premuntur in horas,
> Dum fugiunt equitum turmæ peditumque catervæ.
> Mox trahitur manibus regum Fortuna retortis;
> Esseda festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves.
> . . . . . .
> Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus. . . .
> Scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
> Fabellam surdo.[3]

Pompey, however, wished not to please connoisseurs, but the Roman populace, and knew its tastes.

About the same time he built near his theatre a new and more sumptuous house for himself, surrounded with gardens. That in the Carinæ, which he had inhabited up to the time of his triumph, was a comparatively modest one for that period, and the voluptuous Antony had wondered where he could have supped in it.[4] He also erected a portico behind the *scena* of his theatre, the proper place for one, according to Vitruvius, which

[1] Tiro, ap. A. Gell. *Noct. Att.* x. 1.
[2] *Ad Fam.* vii. 1.
[3] *Epp.* ii. 1. 189 sqq.
[4] Plut. *Pomp.* 44.

served to shelter the spectators in bad weather. It became one of the most fashionable lounges in Rome.[1] Near it was another portico, called, from its hundred columns, HECATOSTYLON; though some writers have considered this to be only another name for the PORTICUS POMPEII. Both indeed appear to have contained groves of plane-trees, and to have been consumed in the same conflagration; but Martial speaks of them as distinct places, and the same thing may be inferred from a fragment of the Capitoline plan.[2] Pompey adorned his portico with the images, in chains, of fourteen nations he had conquered, and it was hence also called PORTICUS NATIONUM or AD NATIONES. It contained a Curia, or senate-house, the CURIA POMPEII, also sometimes used for the performance of plays.

Cæsar was not behindhand with his rival in captivating the people by adding to the magnificence of Rome. Before Pompey's return from the east, however, when their rivalry had not yet been so decidedly declared, Cæsar, at the commencement of his prætorship, in B.C. 62, with no view of obliging Pompey, but to gain the multitude by appearing to favour him, proposed that the reconstruction of the Capitoline temple, to which, as we have said, some little still remained to be done, should be completed by Pompey; so that his name alone should be inscribed in the dedication, to the exclusion of that of Catulus as well as of Sulla. Cæsar even accused Catulus of malversation in his functions. Such a charge could not apply to the labour bestowed on the building, which, as under Tarquinius Superbus, when it was made a ground of complaint against that king, was

[1] Catull. liii. 6; Ov. *Ars Am.* i. 67.

[2] Mart. ii. 14; cf. Canina, *Indic.* p. 373. See also Vitruv. v. 9; Prop. ii. 32, 11.

compulsory and unpaid. Catulus had roofed the temple with gilt tiles, and the accusation must have regarded this and similar expenses. But the patrician party made a great stir in favour of Catulus, and carried the day. Sixteen or seventeen years after, when Cæsar had become all-powerful, the senate decreed that the name of Catulus should be erased from the temple, and that of Cæsar substituted.[1] Tacitus, however, tells us[2] that the name of Catulus remained till the time of Vitellius, and his testimony is confirmed by two inscriptions still extant, so that the decree seems not to have been carried into execution.[3] The original Tabularium, a sort of record office, appears to have been burnt in the same fire which destroyed the temple. Catulus rebuilt it under the eastern side of the Area Capitolina, and considerable remains of it may still be seen under the Palazzo del Senatore. The inscription recording its rebuilding by Catulus was extant in the time of Poggio, and even of Nardini; so that the structure must have lasted till the latest period of the Empire.[4] The Tabularium seems not to have been so called before the time of Catulus; previously it was named *Ærarium*,[5] and it may possibly have communicated with the Ærarium behind the Temple of Saturn. The front of it formed a sort of portico of two storeys, as could be seen in the time of Poggio. At present only part of the lower

[1] Dion Cass. xxxvii. 44, xliii. 14; Cic. *In Verr.* Act. ii. lib. iv. c. 31; Suet. *Cæs.* 15.

[2] *Hist.* iii. 72. The passage is a good example of his brevity.

[3] Lanciani, *Bull.* 1875, p. 168.

[4] Polyb. iii. 26; Poggio, *De Vari. Fort.* lib. i. p. 8; Nardini, *Rom. Ant.* lib. v. c. 13. M. de Rossi has restored the inscription (*Nuova Raccol. d'Iscriz.* p. 101).

[5] Liv. iii. 69, &c.

arcade remains, one of the few monuments of the republican times.

The most magnificent of Cæsar's architectural plans was the enlargement of the Forum, or rather the addition of a new one in connection with it. The plan of it seems to have been conceived about the year B.C. 54, as we see from a letter of Cicero's to Atticus.[1] It was to extend from the Basilica Paulli to the ATRIUM LIBERTATIS, a hall where slaves received their manumission, which seems to have stood on that tongue of land which then connected the Capitoline and Quirinal hills.[2] The money necessary to execute this project by buying the ground required for it, together with the houses, Cicero states at 60,000,000 sesterces, or about 500,000*l*. As usual in such cases, however, this estimate appears to have been much under the mark, and before the work was completed it cost almost double that sum.[3] Yet after all it seems not to have been executed on the magnificent scale first projected. It could not have extended so far westwards as the Atrium Libertatis, since its frontage towards the Forum Romanum, which included the Curia, was apparently only some 200 feet, though it ran back 330 or 340. It was not dedicated till after the battle of Pharsalia and Cæsar's triumph in B.C. 45. It contained a Temple of VENUS GENITRIX which he had vowed before the commencement of the civil war. Cæsar did not live to see his Forum entirely completed. It was dedicated so prematurely that the statue of Venus was represented by a plaster cast.[4] The temple was surrounded by a *τέμενος*, or open space, destined for the hearing of causes and other legal business.[5]

[1] Lib. iv. 16.
[2] See the article *Roma*, p. 798 *a*.
[3] Suet. *Cæs.* 26; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24, 2.
[4] Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 45.
[5] App. *B. C.* ii. 102.

Cæsar, as we learn from the same letter of Cicero's to Atticus, at the same time projected a magnificent Septa in the Campus Martius for the Comitia Tributa, consisting of a covered building of marble, with a portico enclosing a space of ground a mile square. The SEPTA JULIA adjoined the Villa Publica, and most probably occupied the site of the Palazzo Doria and church of Sta. Maria in Via Lata. Among the magnificent plans of Cæsar's never executed, we read of his intention to divert the course of the Tiber from the Milvian Bridge to the foot of the Vatican Hill, and thus to convert the Ager Vaticanus inte a new Campus Martius, and appropriate the old one to building purposes;[1] also to erect a temple of unparalleled size to Mars, and to excavate a theatre of vast dimensions in the side of the Tarpeian Mount.[2] He also began the BASILICA JULIA, on the site of the Sempronia, but did not live to finish it. The Curia Hostilia, burnt down at the funeral of Clodius, had been rebuilt by Faustus, the son of Sulla; but Cæsar caused this structure to be demolished in order to erect in its place the CURIA JULIA.[3] We must also here mention that Cæsar erected new Rostra in the eastern or further portion of the Forum, between the Temple of Castor and the Regia. This part of the Forum was now appropriated by the demagogues for their harangues, and Cæsar, who used himself to hold forth occasionally from the steps of the Temple of Castor, agreeably to his revolutionary principles, accommodated them with a place to speak from. The Comitium, the aristocratic portion of the Forum, was now compara-

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 33.

[2] Suet. *Cæs.* 44.

[3] *Dict. of Anc. Geogr.* vol. ii. p. 790 sq.; where I have endeavoured to show that the senate-house, originally called Curia Hostilia, and afterwards by different names, always occupied the same spot.

tively deserted; but the ancient Rostra there were not destroyed, and appear to have been occasionally used after this period. The statues of Sulla and Pompey, which had stood near the old Rostra, were removed to the new. Subsequently two statues of Cæsar were also erected here, and an equestrian one of Octavian.[1]

Even the sums given by Cæsar in bribery were sometimes employed in adorning the city. Thus the eloquent and profligate tribune Curio, whom he bought with 100,000 sesterces, erected a double theatre upon pivots, the two parts of which being united formed the first amphitheatre at Rome.[2] Cæsar is also said to have purchased Æmilius Paullus with 1,500 talents,[3] or about 360,000*l*., which would have gone a good way in the reconstruction of his Basilica.

The first triumvirate of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus was a certain presage of the fall of the Republic. Crassus, who would not have had the genius to withstand Cæsar, fell in an expedition against the Parthians; and Pompey, who had lost much of his popularity in his later years, was compelled to fly from Rome after Cæsar had passed the Rubicon. As Cæsar approached, Pompey proposed to transfer the seat of government to Capua, a city, as we learn from one of Cicero's speeches against Rullus,[4] in many respects superior to Rome; its streets more spacious, and, being built in a plain, without the inconvenience arising from the Roman hills. But such a retreat was impracticable, and at last Pompey fled to

[1] Dion Cass. xlii. 18, xliii. 49; App. *B. C.* iii. 41; Ascon. *ad Cic. p. Mil.* 5; Suet. *Cæs.* 75.

[2] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24, 8.

[3] Plut. *Cæs.* 29.

[4] "Romam in montibus positam et convallibus, cœnaculis sublatam atque suspensam, non optimis viis, angustissimis semitis, præ sua Capua—irridebunt, &c."—*De Leg. agr.* ii. 35.

Greece, basely, says Cicero,[1] and without even carrying off the public treasure, which was left to augment Cæsar's resources. The consuls had indeed taken away the keys of the Ærarium; but how should such a fortress resist the victor of so many? The tribune Metellus, one of the few who had the courage to remain at Rome, opposed Cæsar's entrance; but Cæsar threatened to slay him, and caused the gates to be broken open.[2] The rest is soon told. Pompey was defeated at Pharsalia and murdered in Egypt in B.C. 48, and Cæsar became master of the world.

Cæsar did not spend much of the remainder of his life at Rome. In October, B.C. 45, he celebrated his last triumph for the final victory over the Pompeians at Munda. Nothing now remained to gratify his ambition but to be king of Rome. But circumspection was necessary before assuming that hated title; for names are often more detested than things, and the Romans, just like the French in their Revolution, were ready to submit to any tyranny, provided the tyrant did not call himself *Rex*. Cæsar therefore deemed it prudent first to sound their feelings on this point by means of his creature Mark Antony. In February B.C. 44, was celebrated the wild and ancient festival of the Lupercalia, which may be compared to the modern Carnival; except that in this the performers dress themselves up, while in the Lupercalia, agreeably to its more ancient and simple origin, they undressed themselves. Antony, who was consul this year, was one of the Luperci on this occasion, and was

[1] *Ad Att.* vii. 21.

[2] Cæs. *B. C.* i. 33; App. *B. C.* ii. 41; Dion Cass. xli. 17; Lucan; *Phars.* iii. 114 sqq. Lucan remarks on this occasion that the love of gold alone was stronger than the fear of death, and that the laws had been suffered to be violated with impunity.

probably half drunk as well as more than half naked. Cæsar, dressed in his triumphal robes, was seated in the Forum, near his new Rostra, to view and encourage the sports. As he sat there, Antony approached, bearing in his hand a diadem encircled with laurel. Twice he tried to place it on Cæsar's head, and twice did Cæsar, with well-feigned reluctance, reject the bauble like a bishop his new mitre. Thunders of applause attended each rejection. There could be no mistake about the popular feeling; and Cæsar, who was evidently vexed at this display of it, baring his neck, desired any one who wished to strike. There were some who wished, but the opportunity was not yet come. Cæsar's further attempts to gain a crown through prophecies from the Sibylline books that none but a king could subdue the Parthians, steeled the hearts and hands of his assassins. Cæsar fell by their daggers on the ides of March in Pompey's Curia, beneath the statue of his former rival.[1]

The murder perpetrated, the assassins, brandishing aloft a cap of liberty on the point of a sword, and protected by a body of gladiators, mounted up to the Capitol, whither they were followed by several senators, and amongst them by Cicero. Here Brutus addressed the assembled people, and imagining from the applause which followed his speech that his deed was universally popular, he ventured, in company with the other conspirators, to descend into the Forum. Here another oration was again favourably received; but a speech of

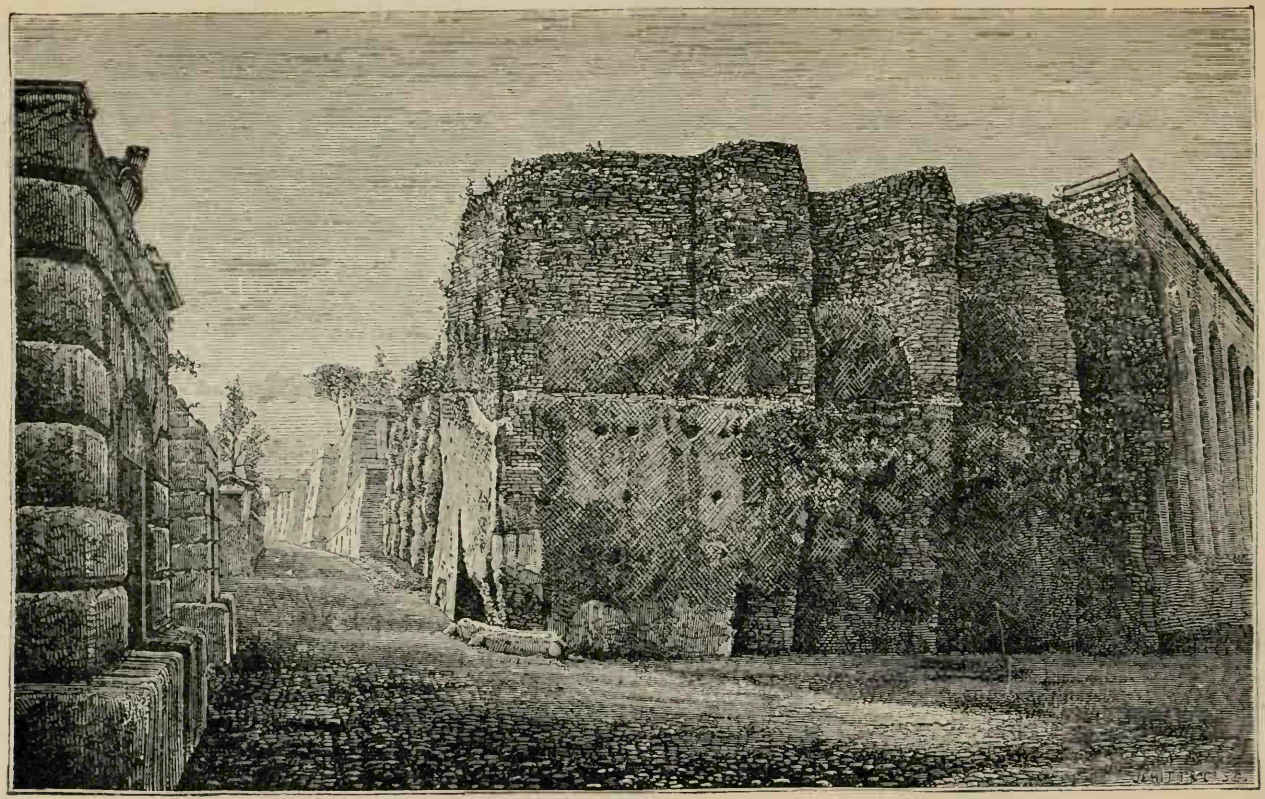
[1] Said to be the identical statue now in the Palazzo Spada. After Cæsar's murder, this Curia was walled up, as a *locus sceleratus*. Augustus, however, caused the statue of Pompey to be re-erected under a marble arch in front of his portico; a situation which corresponds with the place where the statue was found. Suet. *Cæs.* 88, *Octav.* 31; Dion Cass. xliv. 16, 52; Cic. *De Div.* ii. 9.

Cinna's, in which he abused Cæsar's memory, drew forth such unequivocal marks of displeasure and anger from the crowd, that the conspirators again hastily retired to the Capitol. Lepidus, Cæsar's master of the horse, who commanded a large body of veterans, occupied the Forum during the night with his troops, and next day the consul Antony, feeling himself more secure—he had hid himself after the murder, no one knew where, in the garb of a slave—ventured to appear again in public, having previously secured Lepidus by a promise to make him Pontifex Maximus, and to give his daughter in marriage to Lepidus' son. Antony now seized all Cæsar's papers and the public treasure, and convened the senate in the Temple of Tellus, where the state of things was discussed. On the following day Antony and his colleague Dolabella assembled the people in the Forum; the will of Cæsar was read, and its liberal bequests to the people and to some of his assassins excited a universal enthusiasm in his favour. This feeling became almost uncontrollable a few days after at the sight of Cæsar's body now borne in funeral procession into the Forum; when Antony, mounting the Rostra, and ordering the bloody corpse with all its gaping wounds to be displayed, still further excited the passions of the multitude by a touching and memorable funeral oration.[1] Instead of suffering the body to be carried into the Campus Martius, where a funeral pile had been prepared, the mob extemporized one at the eastern end of the Forum by pulling down some neighbouring booths. While the body was still consuming, some of the mob snatched burning brands from the pyre, and, rushing with them through the streets, set fire to the houses of

[1] The reader will obtain a more vivid impression of the scene from Shakspeare's *Julius Cæsar* than from any extant historian.

the chief conspirators, and to Pompey's Curia, where Cæsar had met his death.

With this scene, so far as the city of Rome is concerned, was closed that period of lawlessness and violence which ushered in the Empire. The battles still to be fought occurred at a distance from the capital; they belong to the province of the historian, and not to the more humble one of an historiographer of the city. There is, however, one bloody episode still to be recorded. The first use made by Antony of the license to slay which he had acquired by his triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus, was to put on his list of proscriptions the name of Cicero. His myrmidons surprised and slew the aged and eloquent senator at his villa near Formiæ, and cutting off the head and hands carried them to Rome as the most acceptable present which they could bring to their master. There was the head which had conceived, the mouth which had uttered, the hands which had penned, the *Philippics!* Antony was seated in the Forum—administering justice!—when these ghastly relics were laid before him. He gloated on them with delight, then carried them to his wife Fulvia, that she also might share his satisfaction. With impotent female rage, Fulvia insulted the head that had ceased to hear, pierced with her bodkin the tongue that could no longer speak! Then, by command of Antony, the bleeding relics were nailed to the Rostra and there left to moulder. The brutal, blundering Antony could not have chosen for them either a more appropriate monument, or one that more evidently stultified himself. It illustrated at once the eloquence of his victim, and the deep and lasting pain and mortification it had caused him.



MURO TORTO.

A FRAGMENT OF MASONRY ON THE PINCIAN HILL OF THE AGE OF SULLA,
AFTERWARDS INCORPORATED IN AURELIAN'S WALL.

p. 184.

SECTION III.

THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

THE battles of Philippi and death of Cassius and Brutus destroyed the senatorial or constitutional party, and after Antony and Octavian had four times divided the world, the last time without any competitor, the latter by his victory over Antony at Actium, B.C. 31, became sole master of the Roman Empire. In the following year he crushed Antony's small remaining power in Egypt, and compelled the ex-triumvir to put an end to his own life; after which, having settled the affairs of the East, he returned to Rome in B.C. 29. He now obtained the perpetual title of Imperator, or Emperor, and celebrated three magnificent triumphs for his victories in Dalmatia, at Actium, and in Egypt. Peace having been thus restored throughout the Empire, the Temple of Janus was closed for the first time during more than two centuries. Octavian, or, as we shall henceforth call him, Augustus, which title he received a year or two after, could now apply himself to the restoration of order and the promotion of the works of peace; a task for which his genius naturally fitted him. These works included many improvements in Rome, to which part of his labours the design of this narrative entirely confines us. His lengthened reign and the

immense resources which he commanded, enabled him not only to carry out many new and magnificent designs, but also to restore and perfect an immense number of previously existing monuments, so that it was his boast that, having found Rome brick, he left it marble.[1] After all his labours, however, much remained to be done by his successors before the city attained its highest point of beauty and grandeur. To convey some conception of what he effected, we will endeavour, so far as the materials for it admit, to draw a slight sketch of the state of Rome at his accession.

On the whole, in comparison with many modern capitals, and perhaps a few ancient ones, Rome, as bounded by the Servian wall, offered not in the time of Augustus that magnificent aspect which the imagination might naturally look for in the mistress of the world, though certain portions of the city no doubt displayed great architectural splendour. What first strikes the eye on entering a large capital are long and spacious streets, extensive squares and places. These of themselves, and without any regard to the architectural taste displayed in them, fill the eye and excite an involuntary admiration. Such, for instance, are the quays and boulevards at Paris, the Rue de Rivoli, the Place de la Concorde; in London such streets as Oxford Street, Regent Street, Piccadilly, and the numerous squares in their vicinity; at Berlin, the Linden and the Schloss Platz. In places like these Rome must have been totally deficient. The very nature of the ground on which it stood prevented their existence. A complex of hills intersected by narrow winding valleys could not possibly offer space either for a handsome street or a

[1] Suet. *Aug.* 28.

spacious piazza. The Vicus Longus, which ran along the valley between the Quirinal and Viminal hills, ascended the height, and perhaps proceeded as far as the Porta Collina,[1] was probably, as may be inferred both from its situation and its name, one of the longest streets in Rome, yet it could hardly have exceeded three-quarters of a mile in length. It appears, too, from Livy's account of the sacellum erected in it to Pudicitia Plebeia,[2] not to have been a fashionable quarter of the town, and was therefore probably filled with houses of the meaner sort. The Roman streets, in general, must have been much shorter than the Vicus Longus; nor could this defect have been compensated by their breadth, which perhaps gives a nobler air than length. In general they appear to have been very narrow, a defect which was not remedied till after the fire in the time of Nero,[3] and then only partially. The largest streets, called *Viæ* or *Plateæ*, were probably not broader than the Roman highways, that is thirteen, or at most fifteen feet; while the alleys between the *Insulæ*, or blocks of houses, were scarcely a yard wide, and must have resembled, or rather perhaps exceeded, in meanness the labyrinths of dirty lanes which at the back of the canals disfigure modern Venice. Like the Queen of the Adriatic, however, Rome had not its streets encumbered with any great quantity of vehicles. Private carriages were unknown, and even the Roman carts, as in modern times, appear to have been light and narrow. When we take into consideration the enormous height of the houses, many of which must have exceeded

[1] Valerius Maximus (ii. 5, § 6) speaks of a Summus Vicus Longus, which shows that it ascended the elevated ground at the junction of the Quirinal and Viminal.

[2] Lib. x. c. 23.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 43.

seventy feet before Augustus introduced a regulation forbidding them to be built higher, and that many of them were provided with *mœniana*, or balconies, we may fancy the coolness, but at the same time the darkness, of the lower storeys. These defects continued to exist even in the time of Juvenal, who adverts to the darkness of the houses as a nuisance only compensated by the privilege enjoyed by the inhabitant of Rome of being present at the games of the Circus:

> Si potes avelli Circensibus, optima Soræ
> Aut Fabrateriæ domus, aut Frusinone paratur
> Quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum.[1]

Into many of the lower rooms the sun could have never penetrated, and from some of the narrower streets and lanes the sky itself could have been scarcely visible. Yet, contrary to the modern Italian proverb, *ove non va il sole, va il medico*, many of the Romans of those times, as we learn from the passage of Tacitus just quoted, considered this exclusion of sun and air to be favourable to health. The *Ghetto*, or Jews' quarter, indeed, one of the narrowest and most densely populated of modern Rome, is also regarded as one of the freest from malaria. As the foundations of the houses do not appear to have been very substantial, the constant risk of falling must have added danger to their other disagreeable qualities. Thus the satirist just quoted:

> Nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam
> Magna parte sui; nam sic labentibus obstat
> Villicus; et veteris rimæ quum texit hiatum
> Securos pendente jubet dormire ruina.[2]

[1] *Sat.* iii. 223 sqq. Trajan ultimately fixed the maximum of height at sixty feet. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* c. 13. See a wall-painting in the Tablinum of the so-called house of Livia on the Palatine, engraved in the *Journal Archéologique*, No. 21, 1870. Also "Imitative Art," p. 295.

[2] Juv. *Sat.* iii. 193.

The greater part of Rome, indeed, appears to have belonged to wealthy and selfish capitalists, who thought only of making the most of their investments, like Crassus, who was said to hold half the city. The valleys around the hills seem to have been filled with streets and houses like those just described. Such must have been the case with the valleys between the three northern hills, the Subura, the Sub Velia, the space between the Velia and the Cælian, and the Velabrum. These districts must have been so choked up with tall houses and narrow streets as to render it totally impossible to discern from them the contour of the neighbouring hills. The summits of the hills themselves were for the most part occupied with aristocratic residences, gardens, temples, and other public buildings. Hence the only parts within the ancient circuit of the Servian walls where the citizen of humble means could breathe as it were in a freer space and enjoy a more extended prospect, must have been the Circus Maximus, the adjoining Forum Boarium, and the Forum Romanum. We must recollect, however, that in the time of Augustus all trace of the Servian wall had almost entirely vanished. Suburbs had been pushed out as far as the circuit of the subsequent walls of Aurelian, and were included by Augustus, indiscriminately with the ancient Servian city, in the regions into which he divided Rome. Thus the city in those days may be compared with ancient London amalgamated with Westminster, Southwark, and other surrounding boroughs; but it occupied a much less expanse of ground.

It will be plain from the preceding description that the only spots within the proper limits of Rome which could have offered, in the time of Augustus, a spectacle of much architectural beauty, must have been the Circus

Maximus and the Forum Romanum with its environs. The mere expanse of the Circus, the limits of which may still be discerned, must have been of itself a noble and striking object, especially after emerging from the narrow streets of Rome. Cæsar had enlarged it at both extremities, making it at least three-eighths of a mile[1] in length and a furlong in breadth. He had also surrounded it with a lower row of stone seats, and wooden ones above; but these, as well as other parts of the building, had been destroyed or injured by a great fire which occurred in B.C. 31, just before the battle of Actium. The temples and other buildings which on each side, on the summits of the Palatine and Aventine hills, towered over the Circus, must have lent additional beauty to the prospect; and when, amidst the cheers of innumerable spectators, the chariots, with their eager drivers decked in various colours, rushed at headlong pace from the carceres, it is difficult to conceive that Rome, the theatre of stirring spectacles, could have offered one more exciting than this, or more striking in all its accessories.

But by far the grandest architectural view that Rome could offer, independently of any local association of ideas, must have been that of the Forum, the Capitol, and surrounding objects. In order to realize this prospect, so far as may now be possible, from the descriptions of ancient authors and a knowledge of the localities in their present state, let us suppose ourselves on the way to the Capitol from the further extremity of the Sacra Via. Having arrived at the highest point of that road, called the Summa Sacra Via, where the Arch of

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24, s. 1; Suet. *Cæs.* 39. Dionysius (iii. 68) describes it as three stadia and a half long, and about two-thirds of a stadium broad.

Titus now stands, the Capitol with all its glories suddenly bursts upon our view and bounds the prospect. On the northern summit of the hill, the present site of the church and convent of Ara Celi, stood the vast and magnificent Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and his two associated divinities, Juno and Minerva. The roof of gilded tiles might vie in splendour with the eastern sun that shone upon it, and derived additional lustre from the background of that deep blue Italian sky upon which its forms were sharply defined. The roof is supported by a forest of huge pillars, perfect specimens of art, brought, it is said, by Sulla from Greece. The pediment and acroterium are adorned with statuary; near the temple is a colossal statue of Jupiter, the face turned towards us, and even where we stand we may discern its majestic features. Not far off is another colossus, that of Apollo, brought by Lucullus from Apollonia. Around the peculiar temple of the hill, others of smaller, but varying, size appear to cluster as if to do it homage; while the spaces in front and around them seem animated with statues, which at this distance look like living men.

To the left of this temple-crowned summit follows a depression of short extent. It is the Capitoline *intermontium*, or, as we have ventured to call it in another work, the Area Capitolina. At present the aspect is different; the interval is filled up by the lofty Palazzo del Senatore, surmounted with a tower, and seems as high as the two summits which bound it. On this depression a few monuments of small dimensions are distinguishable from where we stand, such as the Curia Calabra, the Casa Romuli, &c.; also Rostra, for the area was large enough for assemblies of the people, and was often the scene of riots and fights. At the southern

extremity of this depression the hill rises again abruptly into another summit, the citadel, or Arx. This also is crowned with a magnificent temple, that of Juno Moneta, but not of the size and grandeur of her consort's on the opposite summit. Round this are also some smaller temples, as those of Fortune, Marius' Temple of Honos et Virtus, Manlius' of Concord, and others. Augustus is soon to increase the number by the erection of a small temple to Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol.

But, to get a distinct view of the Capitoline Hill and the Forum, we must descend from the height on which we have in imagination placed ourselves. We must remember that we are only at the top of a somewhat narrow street—its breadth may be inferred from the Arch of Titus, which spanned it—and that the ground before us, instead of being an open waste as at present, is covered almost to the verge of the Forum with thickly clustered dwellings, though probably not so high as in the less aristocratic portions of the town; for the ædiles would have taken care that in the line of the sacred and triumphal processions, and under the sumptuous mansions on the Palatine, the view should not have been obstructed and disfigured by lofty buildings. Thus we know, from a passage of Cicero already quoted, that Clodius enjoyed from his house on the Palatine an excellent view of the city; and it seems probable that Cicero's also, which stood rather lower, commanded a fine prospect; for it would scarcely have been worth the money he gave for it had all view from it been blocked out by rows of tall houses. Close to the base of the Palatine Hill, and at the back of the Temples of Vesta and Castor, ran the Nova Via, leading from the Porta Mugionis, where it was called Summa Nova Via, down to the Velabrum. Its pavement is now laid bare between the Sacra Via

and Clivus Victoriæ, at the foot of Caligula's house. At the beginning of the reign of Augustus, the Nova Via seems to have had no communication with the Forum; though one appears to have been subsequently made. Such at least appears to be the probable inference from Ovid's line:[1]

Qua Nova Romano *nunc* Via juncta Foro est.

To reach the Forum, therefore, we must descend the Sacra Via. But before we quit its summit let us survey for a moment the ground on which we stand. Close by is the ancient dwelling of the Rex Sacrificulus, which, with the Regia, or house of the Pontifex Maximus, standing at the bottom of the descent and at the corner of the Forum, appears to have given name to the street. For we must recollect that only this part of the street, viz., the descent from the higher point, or Arch of Titus, to the Regia, was ordinarily called "Sacra Via," or sometimes also "Sacer Clivus," as in the following line of Martial:

Inde sacro veneranda petes Pallatia clivo.[2]

The priests, however, gave that name to the whole length of it, from its commencement at the Sacellum Streniæ, somewhere in or near the Carinæ, to its termination on the Capitol. In very early times there was at the former place a grove of Strenia, or Strenua—some nymph or goddess, we know not exactly what—and it is said that when Titus Tatius was king, the augurs culled for him here, every New Year's Day, some branches of verbena, and carried them to his dwelling on the Arx, as an annual present.[3] Such was the institution of the Roman Christmas-box, a time-

[1] *Fasti*, vi. 396. [2] Lib. i. 70, 5. [3] Symmach. *Epp.* x. 28.

hallowed custom, more honoured perhaps in the breach than the observance; for no doubt the priests got a more than adequate return for their greenery. It was, in short, only a genteel way of begging. In after times it grew into a regular institution under the name of "augurium salutis." Tiberius, very sensibly, always went out of town before the 1st of January, to avoid the thing: but Claudius revived it after an interval of a quarter of a century;[1] and it appears, from the Epistles of Symmachus, to have lasted to a very late period of the Empire. Hence it has descended into our modern customs, and the French word *étrennes* can have no other etymology. But to return to the promenade from which we have diverged.

From the Summa Sacra Via there was probably a road on the left which connected it with the Summa Nova Via, and thus afforded a passage to the Porta Mugionis, or entrance to the Palatine; but we do not know its name, or whether such a road actually existed. It is as certain, however, almost as anything can be in Roman topography, that is not proved by the actual existence of monuments, that at this spot, namely, the Summa Sacra Via and perhaps just within the Porta Mugionis, were some of the most ancient monuments of Rome, as the Sacellum Larium and the Temple of Jupiter Stator, founded by Romulus. On the opposite or right-hand side of the way, in the direction of the subsequent Temple of Venus and Rome, there seems to have been a sort of market for fruit, as well as for the sale of toys and gimcracks. We frequently find allusions to this market in the Roman classics.[2] We will now descend the hill. Let us recollect that the declivity

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 34; Dion Cass. lvii. 8, 17.

[2] Ov. *A. A.* ii. 265; Propert. iii. 17, 11, &c.

was a good deal steeper than it is now. The Forum lay near thirty feet below the present level, and the distance to it from the Arch of Titus is but short. On reaching its boundary, the road was spanned by the Fornix Fabianus, a triumphal arch, perhaps, of mean dimensions, and far inferior to those which were erected in the imperial times. At a little distance on the right stood the Regia, recalling, in long-gone-by times, the memory of Numa's holy shade, its pious founder, and since of many learned and virtuous pontiffs, but recently somewhat profaned by the residence of Cæsar and the licentious visits of Clodius. We now stand at the eastern extremity of the Forum, where at present its boundary is marked by the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. Only a few years before our imaginary promenade, the body of the first and greatest of the Cæsars was burnt a little further on ; in a few more, Augustus will raise a temple to him on the spot, in which he will be worshipped as Divus Julius. The fact that the body could have been consumed here, without causing any damage, shows that this extremity of the Forum must, in spite of its narrowness, have been comparatively free from buildings.

We are now in a position to take into our view the whole of the Capitoline Hill, from its summit to its base. In the conformation of the ground which prevails at this part of the city, an additional descent of near thirty feet afforded the ancient spectator a striking prospect, which, since the recent excavations, can be again enjoyed. The hills which enclose the Forum do not rise much more than a hundred feet above its level, and, in so narrow a valley, the addition of a fifth or sixth part to their apparent height naturally gives them a much more noble and striking

appearance. From this point, the magnificent buildings which rose around the Forum and crowned the neighbouring heights, must have had an air of indescribable grandeur. We now see that the crest of the *intermontium*, or Area Capitolina, is lined by a double row of porticoes or arcades, one above the other. This is the Tabularium of Catulus, some remains of which are still visible. Under its northern extremity, on the elevated platform or terrace called the Vulcanal, stands Opimius' Temple of Concord, the groundplan of which may still be seen. Towards the southern extremity, but on a rather lower level and nearer to the Forum, rises the Temple of Saturn. Its site is now marked by the ruin of the eight columns—a late restoration. Its pediment was surmounted with figures of Tritons blowing horns, of which design Macrobius gives a somewhat fanciful explanation: namely, that since the time of Saturn history had become clear and vocal, which before, like the tails of the Tritons, was concealed in the earth.[1] The present columns, however, could not have belonged to the temple as it was in those days, but are evidently the restoration of a late and degenerate age. Just in front of the temple[2] stood the MILLIARIUM AUREUM, or gilt milestone, set up by Augustus apparently as a standard for distances within the walls; for the measurement of the roads commenced from the gates of the Servian walls. Behind it lay the small Temple of Ops, and the building called the SCHOLA XANTHA; the office probably of the scribes and copyists of the ædiles; and at the extreme corner of the Tabularium, the Porticus Deorum Consentium. Over and

[1] *Sat.* i. 8.

[2] "Præmonitis consciis ut se in foro sub æde Saturni ad Milliarium aureum opperirentur."—Suet. *Otho*, 6.

beyond it stretches to the south that part of the Capitoline called the Arx, having on its summit the Temple of Juno Moneta. On some part of the eastern face of the hill, and visible from the Forum, was the TARPEIAN ROCK, whence criminals were precipitated. Its situation I have endeavoured to determine in the Preface. Between the Capitoline Hill and the Palatine lay the Vicus Jugarius, which wound round the base of the former, and the Nova Via, which followed the outlines of the former. East of the Vicus Jugarius, and separating the Temple of Castor from the Basilica Julia, lay the Vicus Tuscus. The name of this street seems to have been changed very shortly after the Augustan period into Vicus Thurarius.[1] May not this be an example of etymological corruption? The street was inhabited by perfumers and incense-vendors. Horace calls it "vicum vendentem tus et odores;"[2] and this new characteristic was to the vulgar more striking than the fact of its having been founded by the Tusci.

At the upper end of the Forum and under the Capitoline and Curia was the COMITIUM, the more distinguished and aristocratic part of it, being in fact a *templum*, or inaugurated place, and entirely separated from the rest of the Forum by being slightly elevated above it. On it stood the Tribunal of the Prætor Urbanus and a great many statues. Also the sacred fig-tree called FICUS RUMINALIS, supposed to have been that under which Romulus and Remus were nursed by the wolf.[3] This, however, seems to have been nothing but

[1] "Signum Vertumni in ultimo vico Thurario est, sub basilicæ angulo flectentibus se ad postremam dexteram partem."—Ascon. *ad Cic. Verr.* ii. 1, 19; Schol. *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 3, 228.

[2] *Epp.* ii. 1, 269.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 58; Plin. *H. N.* xv. 20. Varro (*L. L.* v. 54)

a substitute; the original tree was near the Lupercal on the Palatine, but had vanished long ago. Some of the boundary walls of the Comitium were adorned with fresco paintings brought from Sparta. At the south-western extremity of the Forum, and bounded on its eastern side by the Vicus Tuscus, rose the large and splendid Basilica Julia, recently erected by Cæsar, the vast foundations of which are now laid open to view. To the east of the Vicus Tuscus is the splendid Temple of Castor, as we have before remarked, one of the most conspicuous objects in Rome. It is a little further back from the boundary of the Forum than the Basilica Julia, and stood on much more elevated ground, as may be seen from the bases of the three columns still extant. It might have been thought that a root or spur of the Palatine Hill extended at this spot towards the Forum, had not some excavations undertaken early in the present century shown that the temple had been erected on a lofty substruction, or terrace, about twenty-four feet high, formed of cubic masses of tufo and Alban stone.[1] The temple, therefore, was approached by a lofty flight of steps, which often served the purpose of *rostra* to address the people from.[2] Closely adjoining it was the Ædes Vestæ, whose circular substruction is now laid bare. Next lay the Regia, already mentioned as marking the boundary of the Forum on this side. We will now survey its right or northern side.

After passing through the Fornix Fabianus, the Sacra

indicates the true place, on the Germalus: "Germalum a germanis Romulo et Remo, quod ad Ficum Ruminalem ibi inventi, quo aqua hiberna Tiberis eos detulerat in alveolo expositos."

[1] Nibby, *Del Foro Romano*, p. 64. Nibby, however, takes the columns to have belonged to the Comitium.

[2] Dion Cass. xxxviii. 6; Cic. *Pro Sest.* 15; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 41.

Via, as some think, turned to the right, so as to skirt the eastern extremity of the Forum, and then again to the left along its northern side; till, having passed the Curia, it again turned to the left, and, just before arriving at the Temple of Saturn, began to ascend the Clivus Capitolinus, entering the Area Capitolina at its southern extremity. It seems not improbable, however, that the road which skirted the northern side of the Forum might have been called *Janus;* forming, in fact, the street to which Horace alludes in a passage before quoted.[1] For on it at no great distance from the present Arch of Severus, and consequently in front of the Curia, lay the little bronze temple of the two-faced deity, the celebrated index of peace and war. Other writers, again, hold that the Sacra Via was on the south side of the Forum, and passing the Basilica Julia, mounted the Clivus by winding round the Temple of Saturn; and this opinion may perhaps be the more probable one. On this side of the Forum, and perhaps about the middle of it, but lying, we may suppose, a little back, stood the Basilica Æmilia. Next came the space on which the ancient Basilica Porcia had formerly stood, burnt down, as we have said, along with the Curia Hostilia, and never rebuilt; at least we have no accounts of its rebuilding. The site, then, at the beginning of Augustus' reign, must have been lying vacant; and we will venture to suggest whether this might not have been the spot on which that emperor erected his CHALCIDICUM, the situation and even the very nature of which have been puzzles for topographers. We learn from the *Monumentum Ancyranum* that it ad-

[1] See above, p. 133.

joined the Curia,[1] and I am now inclined to think that it might have been the same building called the *Athenæum;* since the *Curiosum Urbis Romæ* mentions the Curia and Athenæum in the same connection as the *Monumentum Ancyranum* mentions the Curia and the Chalcidicum.[2] We may suppose that it was an open space intended for the convenience of the senators, surrounded with a portico or colonnade; the *Curiosum* calls it "*atrium* Minervæ," a definition which strengthens this conjecture. The species of building called Chalcidicum derived its name, according to Festus (*sub voc.*), from the town of Chalcis, where it originated. A Chalcidicum mentioned in an inscription found at Pompeii may be identified with the vestibule of a building there;[3] but a portico of this description was evidently not confined to one pattern or place. We learn from the passage in Dion Cassius just quoted, that Augustus dedicated the Curia Julia and the Chalcidicum immediately after his return from the East, in B.C. 29. The Curia Julia, as we have already said, stood on the site of the old Curia Hostilia. Besides the arguments which I have adduced in proof of this position in the article *Roma*,[4] another, as Signor Nibby has remarked, may be drawn from the following passage of Livy: "templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quæ Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum ætatem appellata est:"[5] from which it is plain that

[1] "Curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum."—*Tabula Quarta.*

[2] "Senatum . Atrium Minervæ . Forum Cæsaris . &c."—*Regio* viii. In this case we must read in Dion Cassius (li. 22) τό τε Ἀθήναιον, τὸ καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ὠνομασμένον, κ.τ.λ.

[3] Smith, *Dict. of Ant.* p. 270.

[4] *Dict. of Anc. Geography*, vol. ii. p. 789 sq.

[5] Lib. i. 30; cf. Nibby, *Foro Rom.* p. 59.

the same temple called in the time of Livy's father Hostilia, bore in his own time *another name*. Sulla's son Faustus had endeavoured to supplant the old Roman king as the eponymous founder of the senate-house, but there came one worthier than he. This being so, we see not where Augustus could have found space for his Chalcidicum, except by appropriating that on which the Basilica Porcia had stood. Before the Curia, and on the other side of the Comitium, were the ancient Rostra, the *suggestum* originally adorned with the beaks of the Antian galleys. Round about stood the statues of several Roman ambassadors, put to death by those to whom they had been sent;[1] the martyrs of their then hazardous office. Behind the Rostra was the Græcostasis.

We have now completed the circuit of the Forum, for the Curia stood at its north-western extremity, at or near the church of S. Martina. In the reign of Augustus the Forum no doubt was much more magnificent than a century before, the Curia handsomer and more convenient. But the manly eloquence of the old republican senators will no longer be heard in it. Cato and Cicero were among the last who dared to lift up their voice with freedom; henceforth the senate-house will resound with little but servile acclamations and the false and simulated accents of adulation. The Forum, too, will lose much of its life and colour. The Rostra, indeed, are still there, but the harangues of patriots or demagogues will not again thunder forth from them, and their chief use will be for the delivery of nerveless and fulsome panegyrics. Nay, these altars, as it were, of ancient liberty, will be wantonly defiled by the vilest

[1] Cic. *Phil.* ix. 7; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 11.

and most profligate orgies, led by the daughter of the emperor himself! The Comitium, however, has not lost one of its uses. The Triumviri Capitales continued here to scourge Roman citizens and condemn them to death.[1] The Forum too will sometimes be again the scene of tumult and violence, but only of factions contending for the choice of a master. Thus, as the city advances in material beauty, it declines in moral grandeur; and the meaner, though more pompous, scenes of the Empire will be represented on a more splendid theatre than the sublime and simple drama of the Republic. The monuments which adorn the Forum and the Capitol will daily lose some of the interest attaching to ancient associations, or perhaps awaken by their presence only painful recollections. The city may even be said to be deserting itself, for it is pushing forth over the expanse of the Campus Martius a new and more splendid quarter, which will grow by degrees into mediæval and modern Rome. With a brief survey of this quarter we must finish our imaginary walk.

Behind the Curia, which we have just left, the new Forum Julium is now opened and finished. It has apparently swallowed up the site of the Forum Piscatorium; we hear at least after this time no complaints of the fishy odours which, when Plautus lived, annoyed the frequenters of the Porcian Basilica. The convenience and splendour of this quarter will be increased in a few years by the addition to the north of the Forum Augusti; but more than a century must elapse before the isthmus between the Capitoline and the Quirinal will be cut

[1] "Celer eques Romanus . . . cum in Comitio virgis cæderetur." —Plin. *Epp.* iv. 11. Cf. Senec. *Contr.* vii.: "Triumviris opus est, Comitio, Carnifice."

through, and a level road opened into the Campus Martius through the magnificent Forum of Trajan. At present we must climb the ascent between those two hills, and go out by the road which threaded the ancient Porta Ratumena. Leaving the Basilica Opimia, or Argentaria, on our right, we descend into the Campus Martius. Proceeding in a northerly direction along the broad road called Via Lata, one of the first objects that strike us is the magnificent new Septa of Julius Cæsar, at the church of Sta. Maria in Via Lata. Close behind the south side of it is the Villa Publica. These buildings mark at present the northern extremity of this new western suburb, and the southern boundary of the Campus Martius, properly so called. That vast plain stretches itself out before us to the north and west till it is bounded by the winding Tiber. It is intersected through its whole length by the Via Flaminia, which, commencing at the end of the Via Lata, runs straight through it in a north-westerly direction. This road is perhaps already bordered with handsome villas; at least Strabo mentions the buildings as one of the elements of beauty in the landscape, and the same thing may be inferred from Martial.[1] But the bend of the Tiber forms a large grassy plain to the left of the road. The verdure of the grass, the gently rising hills which bound the horizon, form a prospect of enchanting beauty.[2] On the left is seen Mons Vaticanus; at a greater distance, and towards the north, the more elevated and bolder forms of Monte Mario; while, on the right, Mons Pincius, or the Collis Hortorum, trending to the north-west, encroaches upon the plain, and confines it, at the present Piazza del Popolo, to somewhat narrow dimensions. The scene is

[1] Lib. x. 6.

[2] Strabo, v. 3, § 8.

animated by the sports and spectacles which take place in it. It is the Epsom of Rome, the *Equiria*, or horse-races, said to have been instituted by Romulus, being held here twice a year, in the month dedicated to Mars. But the ground lies low, and was sometimes overflowed at this season by the river, when the races were transferred to the Campus Martialis, an open space on the Cælian Hill. The Campus Martius was also employed for the exercises and evolutions of the troops; and when a victorious general was waiting outside the gates for the honours of a triumph, it must have presented the aspect of a camp. Besides these more solemn uses, it was also the playground of the Roman populace, where multitudes might be daily seen amusing themselves with wrestling matches, or in playing at ball or hoop.[1] If we stroll onwards to the banks of the river, the eye is entertained with a different and more businesslike scene. Here, according to their contrary directions, the light skiff is rapidly descending with the stream, while the heavy barge is being slowly towed up against it.[2] Here, too, opposite the Prata Quinctia, near the present Porto di Ripetta, are the Navalia, the station of the war galleys.

But it is the district called Circus Flaminius, at the southern extremity of the Campus Martius, stretching from near the point where we have entered the Campus, to the wall which runs from the Capitoline Hill to the Tiber, which, from the beauty, grandeur, and number of its buildings, chiefly excited the admiration of Strabo; which he expresses by the somewhat strong phrase

[1] Strabo, *loc. cit.*

[2] Et modo tam celeres mireris currere lintres,
Et modo tam tardas funibus ire rates.
Prop. i. 15 (14), 2.

that all the rest of Rome might seem but a mere supplement, or addition, to this quarter. This confirms the view we have taken of the comparative meanness of the ancient parts of the city. The district of the Circus Flaminius was a broad level space, and thus admirably adapted for architectural display.[1] This quarter, however, did not attain all its beauty till the close of Augustus' reign. Strabo enumerates in it, besides many porticoes and groves, three theatres, an amphitheatre, and many temples. We are here surprised to miss the Circus Flaminius itself, which Strabo could hardly have designated as an amphitheatre. He appears to allude to the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, the first built of stone, which had been completed and dedîcated in B.C. 30. Topographers, however, are quite at a loss as to the site of this structure; its remains have been sought at Monte Citorio and other places, but on no other foundation than conjecture. Dion Cassius says that it was in the Campus Martius;[2] but he may possibly have used that name in a lax and general sense to denote all the plain between the hills and the Tiber. Of the three theatres mentioned here by Strabo, one only was extant at the beginning of the reign of Augustus, that, namely, of Pompey, which we have already described. But we shall enter into no further description of this district at present, as we shall have to return to it when mentioning the buildings erected here in the time of Augustus.

Rome had, of course, like other large cities, its

[1] It seems to have included all that part of the modern city to the south of a line continued from the Via del Gesù to the Tiber, as far as the church of S. Nicolà in Carcere, opposite the southern extremity of the Isola Tiberina.

[2] Lib. li. 23.

favourite resorts and fashionable promenades. The Forum, as the centre of commercial and legal business, was naturally the great centre of attraction, and besides those who really had affairs there, must have attracted that crowd of idlers with whom Rome abounded, who came to see what was going on, and to pick up the news of the day. There, no doubt, might still be found the same congregation of braggarts, false swearers, swaggerers, scandal-mongers, gourmands, beggars with an ostentatious air, and rich men with a quiet, retiring one, as might have been seen in the time of Plautus.[1] The narrow thoroughfares which led to the Forum must often have been so thronged as to be scarcely passable. That this was the case with the Sacra Via, one of the best of them, we learn from Cicero: "Equidem, si quando ut fit, jactor in turba, non illum accuso qui est in Summa Sacra Via, cum ego ad Fabium Fornicem impellor, sed eum qui in me ipsum incurrit atque incidit."[2] So great was the crowd, so insufficient the accommodation for it, that Augustus hurried on the construction of his Forum for the despatch of legal business; which was thrown open to public use before the Temple of Mars Ultor, to whom it was dedicated, could be completed.[3] The elegant throng of fashionable loungers, however, sought a more distant and retired promenade, such as that afforded by the porticoes near the Circus Flaminius; while those who wanted a ride

[1] *Curc.* iv. 1.

[2] *Pro Planc.* 7. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6, 28:

Luctandum in turba, facienda injuria tardis.

[3] "Fori exstruendi causa fuit hominum et judiciorum multitudo, quæ videbatur, non sufficientibus duobus, etiam tertio indigere."—Suet. *Aug.* 29.

or drive seem to have repaired to the Appian Way; just as the Roman cardinals and nobles may now be met outside the Porta Pia, on the road to Sta. Agnese. It was fortunate that the use of carriages and horses, within the walls at least, was but little known, and we do not find the risk of being run over, which now adds so large an item to the casualties of great cities, enumerated by Roman authors among the drawbacks of a town life. A negative advantage arising hence must also have been the absence of noise; though Rome no doubt abounded with clamour enough of a different sort. In this respect the street-cries must have enjoyed a bad pre-eminence; for the ancient Roman was no doubt blessed with as strong a pair of lungs as his modern successor. Martial complains that he could neither sleep nor meditate for these noises. The schoolboys and their masters annoyed him in the morning, the bakers at night, the hammers of the coppersmiths all day long. The cries of the vendors of sulphur and buyers of broken glass, of hoarse cooks with hot sausages, mixed with the vociferous supplications of shipwrecked mariners and other beggars of various sorts, besides a thousand other infernal noises, were enough to distract a meditative poet. All Rome seemed to be at his door with the set purpose of annoying him.[1] Luckily the barrel-organ, the standing grievance of the poet or philosopher in London, was not yet invented. Things were as bad in Horace's time:

> Tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
> Vis canere?[2]

The Augustan poet gives us also a peep into the bustle

[1] Martial, xii. 57, i. 41, &c. [2] *Epp.* ii. 2, 79.

of the streets. Here you were interrupted by an energetic builder, always in haste and sweat, hurrying along with his mules and porters, and followed by machines bearing immense beams or stones. Sometimes the street was blocked up by a funeral disputing the passage with a huge cumbersome waggon; sometimes a mad dog was flying at full speed, or a filthy swine threatened to run between your legs. Such were the sights and sounds of Rome; of the smells we will say nothing. They may be inferred from some specimens in the modern city; but let us pass on to more savoury subjects.

The long period of lawlessness which had preceded the establishment of the Empire, must have been fatal to the municipal government and the police of the city; or rather it had demonstrated that none of an effective kind existed. To remedy this defect was one of the principal cares of Augustus. Rome, though it had long outgrown the limits of the Servian walls, had no divisions for municipal purposes but the four established by that monarch. Augustus increased their number to fourteen. It is not our intention to enter here into a minute description of the Augustan Regions.[1] We shall content ourselves with enumerating their names and noting a few of the principal objects which they contained. The four regions of Servius, and something more, were included in the first six of Augustus. Thus *Regio* I., called *Porta Capena*,[2] comprised the new suburb which

[1] The best work on the subject is that of Preller, *Regionen der Stadt Rom.*

[2] The distinctive names of the regions must have been given at a later period, as some of them are called after objects not existing in the time of Augustus. They were perhaps at first only distinguished by numbers.

had sprung up outside that gate to the south of the Cælian Hill, embracing the tomb of the Scipios and other noted sepulchres in this neighbourhood, the Temple of Mars, &c. *Regio* II., or *Cælimontana*, comprehended the Cælian Hill. *Regio* III., or *Isis and Serapis*, included the district where the Colosseum afterwards stood and Mons Oppius, or the southern tongue of the Esquiline. *Regio* IV., or *Templum Pacis* and *Sacra Via*, lay westward of the preceding region, and embraced the valley lying between the Palatine, Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal, as far as the eastern extremity of the Forum, as well as the north side of the Forum and the Vulcanal. Thus it included the Subura and the greater part of the Sacra Via. *Regio* V., or *Esquilina*, comprised Mons Cispius, or the northern tongue of the Esquiline, the Viminal, and a considerable tract lying beyond and to the east of the Servian walls. *Regio* VI., or *Alta Semita*, embraced the Quirinal and the site of the subsequent Prætorian Camp. *Regio* VII., or *Via Lata*, comprised the space between the hills on the east, and the Via Lata on the west. The extent of the Via Lata cannot be accurately determined. It ran close to, if not exactly upon, the southern portion of the Corso, and probably extended northwards almost to the Antonine column. *Regio* VIII., or *Forum Romanum Magnum*.[1] This district, for some unknown reason, had been omitted in the Servian division. It was now of course the most important in Rome, and embraced besides the Forum, with the exception of the buildings on its north side, the district south of it as far as the Velabrum, the Capitoline Hill and the imperial Fora.

[1] The Forum did not obtain the name of "Magnum" till after the building of that of Cæsar.

Regio IX., or *Circus Flaminius*, embraced the space between the Tiber on the west, the Via Lata on the east, and the Servian wall on the south. Its northern boundary, as we have already said, cannot be determined, but it may perhaps have extended as far as the Antonine column. *Regio* X., or *Palatium*, comprised the Palatine Hill. *Regio* XI., or *Circus Maximus*, comprehended the valley in which the Circus lay, the Forum Boarium, and the Velabrum. *Regio* XII., or *Piscina Publica*, adjoined the preceding region on the west, and the first region, or *Porta Capena*, on the east, and stretched probably from Mons Cælius, on the north, to the line afterwards traced by the Aurelian walls on the south. *Regio* XIII., or *Aventinus*, embraced that hill and the strip of ground beneath it to the Tiber. *Regio* XIV., called *Transtiberina* or *Transtiberim*, was of vast extent, as it embraced the whole suburb on the right bank of the Tiber, including the Janiculum, Mons Vaticanus, and the Insula Tiberina.

Each region contained more or fewer subdivisions called *Vici*, whose number varied from seven or eight in the smallest regions to seventy-eight in the largest, or Transtiberina. A vicus was a complex of houses contained between streets running all round it; its inhabitants formed a *vicinia*. Another and more ancient name for a vicus was *Compitum;* and Pliny speaks of Rome as divided into *Compita Larum* instead of vici.[1] After the example of Servius Tullius, Augustus formed the vici into religious corporations. In each vicus was an ædicula, or little temple, containing the images of two Lares, to which Augustus caused to be added his own Genius;[2] and at certain seasons their worship was

[1] *H. N.* iii. 9. [2] Suet. *Aug.* 30 sq.; Ov. *Fast.* v. 145.

celebrated with proper feasts called *Compitalia*. From each *vicinia* plebeian magistrates were elected, two or four according to its size, called Magistri or Curatores Vicorum, and Magistri Larum; whose office it was to see that the worship of the Lares was regularly celebrated, to take the numbers of the inhabitants during the census, and other duties, we may suppose, somewhat analogous to those of parish officers and overseers in modern times. These magistrates were of the very lowest class;[1] yet on the occasion of certain solemnities they might wear the toga prætexta, and were attended by two lictors. Chapels were also erected in the different vici to Stata Mater and Vulcanus Quietus, who were supposed to be deities that protected against fire. When fires occurred, the public slaves attached to each region were at the disposal of the vicomagistri as well as of the ædiles. Augustus also caused statues of the greater gods to be erected in the vici; as the Apollo Sandaliarius and Jupiter Tragœdus mentioned by Suetonius[2] as very valuable works of art, which he had purchased out of the strenæ, or new-year's presents made to him. The bases of several of these statues have been discovered. Augustus perhaps borrowed the idea from the statue of Vertumnus, the national Etruscan deity, which stood at the top of the Vicus Tuscus near the Forum.[3]

The administration of the regions, on the other hand, was entrusted to a magistrate of a higher kind, chosen annually by lot from among the ædiles, tribunes, or prætors; to whom the government of one, and sometimes apparently two or three regions was assigned. He

[1] "Infimum genus magistratuum."—Liv. xxxiv. 7. [2] *Aug.* 57.
[3] Cic. *Verr.* ii. i. 59; Prop. iv. 2, 5.

was not assisted, as the vicomagistri, by a corporation. There seem also to have been certain subordinate officers in each region, as curatores, denunciatores, and præcones, or public criers; as well as a number of imperial slaves and freedmen, who discharged the functions of clerks, messengers, porters, and the like. The supreme administration of the whole city was vested in the Præfectus Urbi. We must remember that under the Empire this was a very different office from what it had been under the Republic. In some respects the functions of the præfectus in the imperial times must have answered to those of the modern mayor; but he had a much more extensive and absolute jurisdiction, and instead of being elected by his fellow-citizens he was appointed by the emperor, and often held his office for life. A reform in the municipal police, which must have been very much wanted, was also made by Augustus. Seven divisions of policemen, called cohortes vigilum, each commanded by a tribune, and the whole under the superintendence of a præfectus vigilum, were so placed that each division might take two regions as their beat. Their barracks, or stations, were consequently near the borders of regions, and hence we find them frequently mentioned in the *Notitia*, as they served to mark the boundaries. There were likewise fourteen *excubitoria*, or outposts, in the middle of each region. Each cohort seems to have contained 1,000 men, making a total of 7,000—a formidable body of police. They appear to have discharged the duties of firemen as well as of police officers, and were provided with all the arms and tools necessary in both capacities. A fire in such a town as Rome must indeed have been terrific, and we learn from the allusions to them in ancient authors that they were frequent as well as devastating. Imagine on such occa-

sions the fate of the poet in the garret of one of those tall Roman houses! Juvenal speaks feelingly on the subject, as if from practical experience. The third storey might be on fire, and the unhappy man at top know nothing of it, such was the gulf between them, till actually aroused by the flames:

> Tabulata tibi jam tertia fumant:
> Tu nescis; nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis,
> Ultimus ardebit quem tegula sola tuetur
> A pluvia.[1]

Besides the cohortes vigilum, Augustus also created an imperial guard, consisting of twelve prætorian cohorts. A military despotism was thus firmly established; for besides this formidable guard, the cohortes vigilum, with the numerous body of slaves attached to their service, might also be relied on in case of disturbance. Augustus, indeed, saved appearances. Only three cohorts of the guard were allowed within the city, and were placed under the command of the Præfectus Urbi; while the remaining nine cohorts were cantoned in the neighbourhood of Rome. But Tiberius brought them into the city, placed them under the command of a Præfectus Prætorio, and established a camp for them near the Servian *agger*.[2]

The number of inhabitants who populated this vast hive is a subject of great difficulty, and has been very variously estimated. A population of about two million souls, including slaves and foreigners, is perhaps the most probable estimate. For the reasons which have induced the author to draw this conclusion the reader is referred to Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii. p. 746 sqq.

[1] *Sat.* iii. 199.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 2, 5; *Hist.* iii. 64; Suet. *Aug.* 49, *Tib.* 37.

During the domestic broils which agitated the last half century of the Republic, the temples and public buildings of Rome were suffered to fall to decay. A terrible fire which had occurred about B.C. 50, had also laid desolate a great part of the city; and the damage does not appear to have been made good at the time of the accession of Augustus.[1] The ambitious chiefs who aimed at seizing the supreme power founded a more striking claim to popularity by erecting new structures of their own than by repairing ancient ones; unless indeed these belonged to the more conspicuous and venerable class of Roman monuments, like the Capitoline temple or the Curia Hostilia; the restoration of which, and the inscription recording the restorer, were of themselves passports to fame. But Augustus, who, after attaining quiet possession of supreme power, was not influenced by such motives, naturally turned his attention to the state of the ancient edifices. The restoration of order, decent morals, and the appearance at least of religion, all terribly shaken by the recent convulsions and disorganization of society, was, merely as a means and instrument of government, among Augustus' first cares. The dilapidated condition of the temples is alluded to by Horace as a notorious and crying shame:

> Cur eget indignus quisquam, te divite? quare
> Templa ruunt antiqua deûm? cur, improbe, caræ
> Non aliquid patriæ tanto emetiris acervo?[2]

And the same author, in one of his odes, in furtherance no doubt of the views of his sovereign and patron, threatens the Romans with divine vengeance so long as they should leave them unrepaired:

[1] Orosius, lib. vi. c. 14, lib. vii. c. 2.

[2] *Sat.* ii. 2, 103 sqq.

Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum, et
Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.[1]

It appears from the *Monumentum Ancyranum* that among the ancient monuments which Augustus entirely rebuilt were, the Lupercal, the Porticus Octavia in the district of the Circus Flaminius, which he permitted to retain the name of its original founder Octavius; the temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol; of Quirinus, on the Quirinal, which had been burnt down in B.C. 49; and the temples of Minerva, of Juno Regina, of Jupiter, and of Libertas, on the Aventine. The first two of these temples were undoubtedly separate and distinct buildings. We have already had occasion to record how that of Minerva was frequented by *scribes* or poets, and how that of Juno Regina was founded by Camillus after the capture of Veii.[2] Whether those of Jupiter and Libertas were distinct buildings, or a common temple, has been made a subject of question from the manner in which they are mentioned in the *Monumentum Ancyranum:* ÆDES . MINERVÆ . ET . JUNONIS . REGINÆ . ET JOVIS . LIBERTATIS . IN . AVENTINO. Here, it is said, the want of the copula between JOVIS . LIBERTATIS shows that it was a joint temple with two cells. But we think it hardly probable that an ancient and supreme deity like Jupiter would have shared his temple with a make-believe god like Libertas. We find him indeed worshipped under very various attributes at Rome; as Jupiter Conservator, Feretrius, Pistor, Stator, Propugnator, Custos, Victor, Tonans, &c. But in these cases he has still a temple to himself. A more probable reading, therefore, of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* would be that

[1] *Od.* iii. 6.

[2] See above, pp. 77 and 113.

proposed by Franz,[1] of Jovis Liberatoris; and this conjecture is supported in some degree by the Greek translation of the *Monumentum*, which mentions a temple of Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου, but no temple of Libertas.[2] Yet we think it untenable. It takes too great a liberty with the Latin text, in which it is more probable that the copula may have been accidentally omitted. It is besides certain that a temple of Libertas was founded on the Aventine, as we have already had occasion to record, by an ancestor of the Gracchi,[3] and to Libertas alone, without the addition of Jupiter. The passage in the *Monumentum* shows, however, that there was likewise a temple to Jupiter on the Aventine, which is also mentioned in the *Fasti Amiternini*. On the whole, therefore, we think it most probable that Augustus rebuilt two distinct temples, namely, to Jupiter and to Libertas.

Nothing can be more unfortunate than the remarks of A. W. Zumpt, the editor of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, on this subject. That critic undertakes to support "as certain," against the opinions of Urlichs and Becker, that the *ædes* here mentioned of Jupiter, Libertas, Juno Regina, and Minerva, formed, as on the Capitol, but one temple with three different cells. On which we may observe, first, that *four* cells would be required. We know that Marcellus wanted to dedicate a temple to Honos and Virtus with one common cell. But the pontifices would not suffer him to do so; it was contrary to religious usage, and he was obliged to build two cells, which appear, however, to have been under

[1] In Gerhard's *Archäol. Zeitung*, No. 2.

[2] See Becker, *Röm. Alterthümer*, Th. i. S. 457.

[3] Above, p. 130.

one roof.[1] Secondly, the conjunction of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva in one temple had a peculiar significance. These deities were placed together as the special guardians of the city, and upon the Arx or Capitol of it, the proper place for its protectors. Thus at Rome they had a temple both on the old and new Capitol, probably also in the original city on the Palatine. But who would think of looking for them on the Aventine, of all the Roman hills that least connected with the city and its peculiar sanctities? And in conjunction with an intruder? Thirdly, a temple to Jove, Juno, and Minerva, as a trinity of protective deities, must have been erected at one and the same time. But we know that the temples at least of Juno and Minerva were built by different persons at different times, and such in all probability was also the case with the temples of Jupiter and Libertas.

Other ancient temples entirely rebuilt by Augustus were the Ædis Larum on the Summa Sacra Via, the Ædis Deûm Penatium on the Velia, and the Ædis Matris Magnæ, or Cybele, on the Palatine. This last temple, originally founded in B.C. 191,[2] had been twice burnt down; the first time in B.C. 110, after which it was restored by Metellus; and a second time in A.D. 2, and consequently towards the end of Augustus' reign.[3] Augustus also rebuilt the Pulvinar, or elevated station in the Circus Maximus, on which the images of the

[1] See art. *Roma*, p. 819. The following are Zumpt's remarks: "Hoc vero contra Urlichsium et W. A. Beckerum tamquam certum ponere posse videor, ut in Capitolio unum erat Jovis et Junonis et Minervæ templum cum separatis deorum cellis, item in Aventino in uno templo tres fuisse ædes Jovis Libertatis, Junonis Reginæ, Minervæ, easque eam ob causam hic conjunctim nominari."—P. 69.

[2] See above, p. 115.

[3] See art. *Roma*, p. 803 *b*.

gods were placed, and whence the imperial family beheld the games. The former one had been destroyed by fire. He also erected the first obelisk between the *metæ*.

Among the temples and other buildings which Augustus partially restored were the Capitoline temple and the theatre of Pompey, both at a great expense and without inscribing his name. He repaired the aqueducts which were falling to pieces in many places. He doubled the volume of water of the Aqua Marcia by adding to it a new source by the duct called Aqua Augusta, and he also constructed a new aqueduct to serve the Transtiberine district, the AQUA ALSIETINA. This duct had its source in the Lacus Alsietinus, now Lago di Martignano ; but its water was bad and not fit for drinking.[1] Of minor temples, not specially named, Augustus repaired the large number of eighty-two. Of works which had been begun but not completed he finished the Forum Julium and the Basilica Julia; and after the latter had been burnt down he began to rebuild it on a larger foundation, with the intention of dedicating it in the name of his grandsons Caius and Lucius. It appears from a supplement to the inscription that he lived to finish it.[2] A portico appears to have been added. The Basilica thus restored was of enormous size, and capable of accommodating four courts of law, consisting altogether of 180 judices or jurymen,[3] with an immense concourse of spectators. The Basilica Julia, as we learn from an inscription found near the column of Phocas about the middle of the sixteenth century, was repaired in the reign of

[1] Front. *De Aquæd.* 11. [2] See art. *Roma*, p. 793.
[3] Plin. *Epp.* vi. 33; cf. Quintil. xii. 5.

Septimius Severus (A.D. 199). In A.D. 282 it was again burnt down, and was rebuilt by the Emperor Diocletian.[1] Augustus also repaired the Via Flaminia.

But, with a view to the progress of the city, it is more interesting to consider what absolutely new works were undertaken by Augustus. Those finished by himself are the following.

The CURIA, called also CURIA JULIA. We have seen that the original Curia Hostilia was burnt in the Clodian riots, and rebuilt by Sulla's son Faustus. Julius Cæsar, however, was not content that so famous a building should have been dedicated by a person so comparatively insignificant; the building, too, was not perhaps quite what it ought to have been; and therefore a little before his death he procured a vote for the erection of a new one. This he did not live even to found. It was entirely built by Augustus, together with the Chalcidicum already mentioned; but he dedicated it, in the name of his adoptive father, as the Curia Julia.

Among the most splendid works of Augustus were those which he erected on the Palatine Hill. He was born in that region, in a place called AD CAPITA BUBULA. The house afterwards came into the possession of C. Lætorius, a patrician; and after the death of Augustus, part of it was turned into a chapel and consecrated to him.[2] Augustus, at his first entrance into public life, lived near the Forum, above a place called the SCALÆ ANNULARIÆ, or the ring-staircase, the exact position of which we are unable to point out. Thence he removed to the house of Hortensius on the Palatine, a dwelling of only moderate pretensions.[3] After his victory at

[1] *Catal. Imp. Vienn.* p. 247 (Ronc.).

[2] Suet. *Aug.* 5.

[3] *Ibid.* 72.

Actium he began to build the IMPERIAL PALACE, having bought for that purpose several neighbouring houses, among them that which had belonged to Catiline.[1] At the same time he promised to erect a Temple of Apollo, with porticoes. If it be true, as Suetonius mentions, that he occupied the same bedroom during forty years, the new palace must at least have been completed by B.C. 26, or six years after the battle of Actium. This agrees very well with what Dion Cassius tells us of the senate decreeing, in the year U.C. 727, which answers to B.C. 26, that two laurels should be planted before the entrance of the new palace, and an oaken crown or garland placed over it, as symbols of the emperor's victories and of the citizens whom he had preserved. They are alluded to by Ovid in the following lines :

Hic locus est Vestæ qui Pallada servat et ignem :
Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numæ.
Inde petens dextram : Porta est, ait, ista Palatî :
Hic Stator : hoc primum condita Roma loco est.
Singula dum miror, video fulgentibus armis
Conspicuos postes, tectaque digna deo.
An Jovis hæc, dixi, domus est ? Quod ut esse putarem,
Augurium menti querna corona dabat.
Cujus ut accepi dominum, Non fallimur, inquam :
Et magni verum est hanc Jovis esse domum.
Cur tamen apposita velatur janua lauro ?
Cingit et augustas arbor opaca fores ? &c.[2]

The palace was burnt down in A.D. 4, when all classes hastened to offer money for its reconstruction. But Augustus would consent to receive only a gold coin of twenty-five drachms, equal to about a pound sterling, from every town, and a drachm of silver from private individuals, or, according to Suetonius, a *denarius*, which

[1] Vell. Pat. ii. 81 ; Suet. *De ill. Gramm.* xvii.
[2] *Trist.* iii. 1, 33 sqq. ; cf. *Metam.* i. 562 ; *Fast.* iv. 953.

is much the same thing, or about eightpence. On becoming Pontifex Maximus, he built a new TEMPLE OF VESTA close to the Palace, to be near her hearth, and threw open his house to the public.[1] In summer he reposed in a peristyle in which was a fountain, while somebody at the same time cooled him with a fan.[2]

Commendatore Rosa, like some preceding topographers, places the Domus Augusti at the former Villa Mills, now the Monasterio della Visitazione, where vast remains have long been known to exist; while by calling some of the structures discovered by his own researches *Sicilia* and *Cœnatio Jovis*, he would seem to imply that they were built by Domitian. The reverse arrangement appears to us more probable. The situation of the Porta Mugionis authorizes the inference that the palace of Augustus must have been in the Orti Farnesiani. The lines of Ovid just quoted favour this inference. The conductor of his book seems to come at once upon the outward gate of the palace and the threshold of Augustus. The Augustan palace, then the only one at Rome, thus occupying the middle portion of the hill, Tiberius and Caligula would have naturally covered the remainder of it to the west with their buildings; and Domitian would have had no room for further ones, except to the eastward. It may perhaps serve to confirm this view, that Nibby, in his account of the excavations at the Villa Mills, states that a leaden pipe was found inscribed with the name of Domitian, and that the style of the architectural re-

[1] Dion Cass. lv. 12; Suet. *Aug.* 57.

[2] Suet. *ibid.* 82. May not this be the peristylium discovered by the recent excavations? Rosa, however, calls it *Sicilia*, and thus appears to attribute it to Domitian.

mains very much resembled the other works of that emperor.[1] But of all the portions of the imperial palace, those inhabited by Tiberius and Caligula are the only ones that can be indicated with perfect certainty.

The TEMPLE OF APOLLO was probably erected after the palace. Augustus particularly affected the worship of that deity, which had not hitherto been much cultivated at Rome; and he had dedicated near Actium a temple to the Leucadian Apollo upon the occasion of his victory over Antony. It seems probable that the AREA APOLLINIS, enclosing the temple built by Augustus, lay near the convent of S. Bonaventura, where Rosa places it. According to the accounts of ancient authors, nothing could exceed the magnificence of this temple. Propertius, who was present at its dedication, has devoted an elegy to the description of it.[2] From the epithet *aurea* porticus, it seems probable that the cornice of the portico which surrounded it was gilt. The columns were of African marble, or *giallo antico*, and must have been fifty-two in number, as between them were the statues of the fifty Danaids, and that of their father brandishing a naked sword:

> Signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis
> Belides, et stricto barbarus ense pater.[3]

Here also was a statue of Augustus, represented as Apollo sounding the lyre. His beauty when a youth, to judge from his bust in the Vatican, might well

[1] *Roma nell' anno* 1838, t. ii. p. 419.

[2] According to some editions, lib. iii. el. 29; according to others, lib. ii. 31. Supposing the temple to have been dedicated five years after the completion of the palace, or in B.C. 21, Propertius would then have been about thirty years of age, the probable date of his birth being B.C. 51.

[3] Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 1, 61; cf. Prop. *l. c.* v. 4.

entitle him to counterfeit the god. Around the altar were the images of four oxen, the work of Myron, so beautifully sculptured that they seemed alive. In the middle of the portico rose the temple, apparently of white marble. Over the pediment was the chariot of the sun. The gates were of ivory, one of them sculptured with the story of the Gauls hurled down from the heights of Parnassus, the other representing the destruction of the Niobids. Inside the temple was the statue of Apollo in a tunica talaris, or long garment, between his mother Latona and his sister Diana, the work of Scopas,[1] Cephisodorus, and Timotheus. Under the base of Apollo's statue Augustus caused to be buried the Sibylline books which he had selected and placed in gilt chests.[2] Attached to the temple was a library called BIBLIOTHECA GRÆCA ET LATINA, apparently, however, only one structure, containing the literature of both tongues. Only the choicest works were admitted to the honour of a place in it, as we may infer from Horace:

> Tangere vitet
> Scripta, Palatinus quæcunque recepit Apollo.[3]

The library appears to have contained a bronze statue of Apollo fifty feet high; whence we must conclude that the roof considerably exceeded that height. In this library, or more probably, perhaps, in an adjoining apartment, poets, orators, and philosophers recited their productions. The listless demeanour of the audience on such occasions appears, from the description of the younger Pliny, to have been, in general, not over-encouraging.[4] Attendance seems to have been considered as a friendly duty.

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 4.
[2] Suet. *Aug.* 31.
[3] *Epist.* i. 3, 16.
[4] Lib. i. 13.

Among the other works of Augustus was the TEMPLE OF DIVUS JULIUS. A column, or an altar, or perhaps both in some manner combined, was erected to the memory of Cæsar on the spot where his body had been burnt, towards the eastern part of the Forum, with the inscription "Parenti Patriæ." But this monument was overthrown by Dolabella, and Augustus afterwards erected in its stead the Ædes Divi Julii. This was a small temple, surrounded with a colonnade, or portico of closely placed columns. It stood facing the Capitol, on a lofty base or substruction, which served as a third Rostra. Augustus adorned it, after the battle of Actium, with the *rostra* of the ships captured in that action; after which it obtained the name of ROSTRA JULIA.[1] The ground-plan of the Temple, situated almost in front, but a little eastward of the Temple of Castor, has been discovered by the recent excavations.

Augustus also erected, at the opposite end of the Forum, under the Temple of Saturn, the MILLIARIUM AUREUM, resembling a common milestone, but of bronze gilt. It seems to have been a standard of measure for distances *within* the city.[2]

The TEMPLE OF JUPITER TONANS on the Capitoline Hill had been vowed by Augustus in consequence of a narrow escape from lightning during his expedition against the Cantabri, when his own litter was struck, and a slave, who went before with a torch, was killed.[3] It stood near the top of the Clivus, and represented as it were the janitor's lodge, belonging to the great Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; in token of which character, Augustus caused some bells to be hung upon its pediment.[4]

[1] See, concerning this temple, the art. *Roma*, p. 794.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] Suet. *Aug.* 29. [4] *Ibid.* 91.

A Temple of Juventus, on the Palatine. A temple to this deity had previously been erected by C. Licinius Lucullus, but in the Circus Maximus.

The Forum Augusti with the Temple of Mars Ultor. This was one of the noblest and most useful of the public works of Augustus. We have already adverted to the haste with which this Forum was completed, in order to provide accommodation for the crowds which overflowed the Forum Romanum and Forum Julium. The obstinacy of some neighbouring householders, who would not part with their property, obliged Augustus to circumscribe it within narrower limits than he had originally intended; a fact which shows that the authority of Augustus was not so absolute as might be supposed.[1] I take this opportunity to remedy a defect which Lord Broughton has pointed out in my article on Rome.[2] There can, I think, be no doubt that the Arco de' Pantani, and the wall which extends some hundred yards on both sides of it, show the limits of Augustus' Forum on the north-east. Its opposite boundary is probably marked by the Via Alessandrina, or may perhaps have extended a few yards to the south-west of that street. It was here joined by the Forum Julii. The three tall Corinthian columns, close to the Arco de' Pantani, are no doubt remains of the splendid temple of Mars Ultor, the presiding deity of the Forum, as Venus Genitrix was of Cæsar's. Both deities were claimed among the ancestors of the Julia gens, while the title of *Ultor* marked the war and the victory by which, agreeably to his vow, Augustus had avenged his father's death :

[1] "Forum angustius fecit, non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos."—Suet. *Aug.* 56.

[2] *Italy*, vol. ii. p. 79.

Mars ades, et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum;
Stetque favor causa pro meliore tuus.
Templa feres, et, me victore, vocaberis Ultor.[1]

The porticoes which extended on each side of the temple with a gentle curve, contained statues of distinguished Roman generals. The banquets of the Salii were transferred to this temple, a circumstance which led to its identification, from the discovery of an inscription here, recording the *mansiones* of these priests.[2] Like the priesthood in general, they appear to have been fond of good living, and there is a well-known anecdote of the Emperor Claudius having been lured, by the steams of their banquet, from his judicial functions in the adjacent Forum. The temple was appropriated to such meetings of the senate in which matters connected with wars and triumphs were debated.

Lastly, not among the least splendid erections of Augustus recorded in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, was the THEATRE OF MARCELLUS, which he built in honour of his youthful and promising nephew, carried off some years before by an untimely fate. The theatre seems to have been projected and actually begun by Julius Cæsar; but probably little progress had been made in it. We learn from the *Monumentum Ancyranum* that it stood close to the Temple of Apollo; not that on the Palatine, but the ancient one between the Circus Flaminius and the Forum Olitorium, near the Porticus Octaviæ. It was dedicated either in the year 13 or 11 B.C.[3] Considerable remains of this theatre are still extant in the Piazza Montanara. It was capable of holding 20,000 persons.

[1] Ov. *Fast.* v. 575 sqq. [2] Canina, *Foro Rom.* p. 150.
[3] Dion Cass. liii. 30, liv. 26; Plin. *H. N.* viii. 25.

There are one or two other buildings said by historians to have been erected by Augustus, but not recorded in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. These are the portico called after his sister Porticus Octaviæ, in contradistinction to the Porticus Octavia already mentioned, and the Porticus Liviæ, after his wife. Suetonius[1] affirms that these buildings were erected by Augustus in the name of his sister and his wife, and Dion Cassius asserts the same thing respecting the Portico of Livia.[2] There seems to be no good reason why Augustus should have omitted these works from his list, if he really erected them, any more than the Theatre of Marcellus or the Basilica Julia, which, in like manner, he dedicated not in his own name. Ovid, who was a contemporary, and therefore likely to be better informed than the historians quoted, alludes to these two porticoes, as the independent works of those whose names they bore, placing them in the same category with the works of Agrippa:

> Quæque soror conjuxque ducis monumenta pararunt,
> Navalique gener cinctus honore caput.[3]

These lines seem to confirm the silence of the *Monumentum*, unless it should be thought that Augustus, out of gallantry, wished that the works erected in the names of his wife and sister should be attributed entirely to them.

The Porticus Octaviæ occupied, as we have already said,[4] the site of that built by Metellus in B.C. 146. It contained a celebrated library, probably in that part called the "Schola in Porticibus Octaviæ." Here the senate occasionally assembled, as in the Palatine library,

[1] *Aug.* 29. [2] liv. 23. [3] *Ar. Am.* iii. 391. [4] Above, p. 126.

whence we sometimes find it called "Curia Octaviæ." There are still some remains of it extant in the Pescheria, near the precincts of the Ghetto.

The PORTICUS LIVIÆ, a quadrangular structure, occupied the house of Vedius Pollio on the Esquiline. Its site cannot be accurately determined, but it seems probable that it lay near the MACELLUM LIVIANUM, also apparently a work of Livia, not far from the present church of Sta. Maria Maggiore. Dion Cassius[1] tells us that it came into the possession of Augustus by the testament of Vedius Pollio. Augustus directed it to be pulled down, as being too large and magnificent for a private individual, and caused the Porticus Liviæ to be erected on its site. Ovid's account[2] agrees in the main with this, except that, consistently with a passage before quoted, he says not that the portico was erected by Augustus, though doubtless the ground must have been his. Livia also erected here a TEMPLE OF CONCORD:

> Te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat æde
> Livia, quam caro præstitit illa viro.
> Disce tamen, veniens Ætas, ubi Livia nunc est
> Porticus, immensæ tecta fuisse domus.
> Urbis opus domus una fuit, spatiumque tenebat
> Quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent.
> Hæc æquata solo est, nullo sub crimine regni,
> Sed quia luxuria visa nocere sua.
> Sustinuit tantas operum subvertere moles,
> Totque suas hæres perdere Cæsar opes.
> Sic agitur censura, et sic exempla parantur,
> Quum vindex, alios quod monet, ipse facit.

From which lines, though the poet plays with the double meaning of the word *concordia*, it may be probably inferred that the temple was built at Livia's

[1] liv. 23.

[2] *Fasti*, vi. 637 sqq.

expense. The enormous area of Pollio's house also favours the supposition that room might have been found here for the Macellum, as well as for the portico with its temple. The assertion of Becker[1] that they could have had nothing in common, because the Macellum is mentioned by the *Notitia* in the fifth region and the Portico in the third, is utterly valueless, or rather serves to strengthen our conjecture. We have seen that these two regions adjoined each other, one embracing the northern, the other the southern tongue of the Esquiline; and it is just at their juncture, no great way from Sta. Maria Maggiore, that the Macellum probably lay. But whether it was a reconstruction of the Forum Esquilinum there is nothing to determine. There are no remains of these buildings extant.

Lastly, there appears to have been a triumphal arch, or *Fornix Augusti*, erected in honour of Augustus, but whether by himself or one of his successors cannot be said. It is supposed to have stood on the Forum, not far from the temple of Julius Cæsar,[2] and possibly, therefore, on the other side of it from the Fornix Fabianus.

Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, also adorned the city with several noble structures, and, next to the emperor himself, did more for Rome than any other person of that period. The PANTHEON, the best preserved monument of Rome, and still remaining almost in its pristine state, attests his taste and munificence. It stands almost in the centre of the Campus Martius, and must have encroached further into its space than any building had hitherto done. According to the inscrip-

[1] *Röm. Alterth.* B. i. S. 543, Anm. 1144.

[2] Scholiast. ad Virg. *Æn.* viii. 606.

tion, still legible, it was erected in Agrippa's third consulate, consequently in B.C. 27. Notwithstanding its name, it seems probable that the Pantheon contained only the images of the deities more immediately connected with the Julian race and the history of Rome, as Mars, Venus, &c., including that of the first Cæsar. Some modern writers will have it that it was the calidarium of Agrippa's baths; but it is called *templum* by ancient writers. Its excellent state of preservation is attributed in part to its having been converted into a Christian church so early as the reign of Phocas. In this new character it obtained the name of Sta. Maria della Rotonda, or ad Martyres.

The THERMÆ AGRIPPÆ, or Baths of Agrippa, though far inferior to many subsequent foundations of the same sort, yet mark an epoch in the history of the city by being the first of those establishments which afterwards became so prominent a feature of Rome. The Roman populace, which surely much needed the bath, had not yet been accommodated with any public one where they might wash and refresh themselves either *gratis*, or at all events for a mere trifle. But this was only one of the features of a Roman bath, which likewise contained *gymnasia*, or halls appropriated to athletic exercises, apartments for philosophical discussions, lectures, poetical recitations, &c. The Baths of Agrippa stood at the back of his Pantheon. Some vestiges of them still remain, and have been laid open by recent excavations.

In order to supply these baths, Agrippa constructed the aqueduct called AQUA VIRGO. This aqueduct commenced on the Via Collatina, eight miles from Rome, and was conducted underground by a circuitous route till it reached the suburbs, whence, from the declivities of the Pincian Hill, it was carried upon arches the

remainder of the way. It still supplies the Fontana Trevi, being the only aqueduct on the left bank of the Tiber that remains at all serviceable. Agrippa also united the ancient Aqua Tepula with the Aqua Julia, which he had constructed. The latter commenced two miles beyond the Tepula on the Via Latina. After their junction they flowed in a united stream as far as the Piscina Publica, which probably lay somewhere near the Porta Latina of the Aurelian walls.[1] They issued again from the Piscina in two separate channels, both conducted over the Aqua Marcia, so that of the three ducts the Julia was the uppermost, the Marcia the lowest, and the Tepula in the middle. From the Piscina they must have trended to the north, passing close to the present Porta Maggiore, where remains of them may still be seen. Hence they proceeded to the modern Porta S. Lorenzo, formed out of their arches. Here they disappeared under ground till they again emerged at the Porta Viminalis of the Servian walls, about the middle of the agger.[2] Till the time of the Claudian aqueduct, which flowed over the Porta Maggiore, they were the highest at Rome. The Marcia, as we have said, was capable of serving the Capitol.

[1] Becker (*Röm. Alterth.* B. i. S. 520) asserts that the Piscina Publica had vanished long before the time of Augustus, quoting Festus, p. 213 : "Piscinæ publicæ hodieque nomen manet, ipsa non extat : ad quam et natatum et exercitationis alioqui causa veniebat populus." But Festus, though his age is not certainly known, undoubtedly lived long after the time of Augustus. The reason of the name being retained was that the twelfth region was, as we have seen, called after it. Hence, when we read in Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 4) that the obelisk on the Lateran was conveyed "per Ostiensem portam *Piscinamque Publicam*," this of course only means through the district so called.

[2] Frontinus, § xix.

Agrippa also erected near the Septa the Diribitorium, destined probably for the examination of the ballot-boxes after elections. Its immense but unsupported roof, the largest in Rome, rendered it one of the wonders of the city.[1] Its great size made it capable of being converted into a theatre, to which purpose Caligula sometimes applied it in very hot weather.[2] Agrippa appears not to have lived to finish this building, which was dedicated by Augustus after his death. Other works of Agrippa were the portico called Porticus Europæ, from a picture of the rape of Europa,[3] and the Porticus Argonautarum, so named from its being adorned with a picture of the Argonauts. It seems probable that this portico enclosed a Temple or Basilica of Neptune. Agrippa's glory was derived from his naval victories, for which he had been honoured with a *corona navalis;* and it was natural that he should dedicate some of his buildings to the god of that element on which he had achieved his success. It has been thought that the eleven tall columns in front of the Dogana di Terra in the Piazza di Pietra, not far from the Antonine column, are remains of this temple. At all events we know not where else to place the Ποσειδώνειον mentioned by Dion Cassius in this region. This temple must have been a still further advance into the open space of the Campus Martius.[4] By some, however, these columns are assigned, but without much probability, to a temple of M. Aurelius.

We also read of a Campus Agrippæ in this neighbourhood (Regio VII., or Via Lata), which seems to have

[1] Dion Cass. lv. 8; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 15, 24.

[2] Dion Cass. lix. 7.

[3] Mart ii. 14, iii. 20, xi. 1

[4] Dion Cass. liii. 27, lxvi. 24; Spart. *Hadr.* 19; Canina, *Indicaz.* p. 406; Nibby, *Roma Ant.* t. ii. p. 681.

been a sort of park or garden containing porticoes and gymnasia, and forming an agreeable promenade. It must have lain on the eastern side of the Via Lata, and was opened by Augustus after the death of Agrippa. It contained a portico called after Agrippa's sister PORTICUS POLÆ, sometimes also after himself PORTICUS VIPSANIA. The name of Vipsania seems to have been corrupted in the *Notitia* into Gypsiani. This portico appears to have served as a sort of barracks.[1]

Agrippa, besides executing these great works, seems also to have exercised a careful superintendence over the city in general, as may be inferred from the anecdote of his cleansing the Cloaca Maxima, and sailing up it in a boat. Besides the immediate family of Augustus, some of his courtiers, to gratify his known taste for improving and adorning the city, erected at their own expense some magnificent works. Thus STATILIUS TAURUS, one of his most distinguished generals, built an amphitheatre of stone, the first permanent one at Rome, and the sole one till the foundation of the Colosseum. It was somewhere in the Campus Martius, but its site, as we have already said, has not been satisfactorily ascertained. In like manner L. CORNELIUS BALBUS, who had served under Julius Cæsar, built a STONE THEATRE, and in connection with it a covered portico, or CRYPT. They stood probably near the western extremity of the Circus Flaminius; but no remains of them exist, and their exact situation cannot be pointed out. L. Marcius Philippus, the stepfather of Augustus, rebuilt the Temple of Hercules Musarum, founded, as we have already said,[2] by M. Fulvius Nobilior, and surrounded it with a portico, called after him PORTICUS PHILIPPI.

[1] Dion Cass. lv. 8; Tac. *H.* i. 31; Plut. *Galba*, 25.

[2] Above, p. 121.

In like manner L. Cornificius built a Temple of Diana, Asinius Pollio an Atrium Libertatis, and Munatius Plancus a Temple of Saturn;[1] but whether these were entirely new buildings, or, as seems more probable, renovations of old ones, cannot be said.

It is plain from this account of the works of Augustus, and his family and friends, that the aspect of Rome in certain quarters must have become much more splendid during his reign than it was before. The Forum, by the completion of the Curia and the Basilica Julia, the addition of the Chalcidicum to the former, the erection of the temple of Julius, and other minor improvements, had assumed a much more finished and magnificent aspect; while the extension of it by means of the Forum Augusti must have greatly added both to its beauty and convenience. On the other side of it the building of the palace on the Palatine, with the Temple of Apollo and other adjoining structures, must have imparted to this hill an air of imperial grandeur, which no private buildings, however magnificent, could have conferred upon it, and have given an entirely new feature to the city. The quarter of the Circus Flaminius and Campus Martius had been rendered much more splendid by the erection of the many temples, porticoes, theatres, and other buildings, just recorded. As Strabo intimates, it had begun to assume the appearance of a separate and substantive town, and, except with regard to size, a more magnificent one than the ancient city; since most of its buildings were places of public devotion, amusement, or recreation, while the few private houses that existed there seem to have been remarkable for grandeur. When we consider also the

[1] Suet. *Aug.* 29.

numerous restorations of ancient buildings effected by Augustus throughout the city, and the improvements made on the Esquiline in the name of his consort Livia, we may be inclined to allow that his assertion of having converted the city from brick into marble was no idle vaunt. More, in fact, was done for Rome during this single reign than in any other period of equal extent till we come to the time of Nero. But the improvements of that emperor were aided by the accidental circumstance of a tremendous conflagration; without which it would have been impossible to get rid of that labyrinth of narrow, winding, zigzag streets, which continued to disfigure the greater part of Rome, even after the time of Augustus.

As that emperor thought fit to record on brass and marble, along with his greatest achievements, the architectural improvements which we have just described, so also he did not disdain to notify, in the same manner, the games and sports with which he had amused the people, and the almost inestimable gifts with which he had enriched the temples of the gods: as of Divus Julius, Apollo, Vesta, Mars Ultor, and especially the Capitoline Jove. In the many gladiatorial combats exhibited in his own name and in the names of his sons, he states that about 10,000 men had been engaged—a small army! These combats were given not only in the Forum and in the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, but also in the Circus and the Septa. He twice exhibited in his own name the Greek athletic sports, and once in the names of his nephews, having prepared a temporary place for the spectacle in the Campus Martius. He presided forty-seven times at the regular games, either by virtue of his office or in the place of absent magistrates. He once celebrated the Ludi Sæculares, after having

carefully consulted the Sibylline books, as magister of the college of Quindecemviri sacris faciundis; for which occasion Horace composed his well-known Carmen Sæculare. Six-and-twenty times he exhibited in the Circus, the Forum, and the amphitheatre of Taurus, *venationes*, that is the slaughter of wild beasts brought from Africa, in which about 3,500 of these animals were killed. For the first time he delighted and astonished the Romans with the spectacle of a naval combat; for which purpose he caused a large lake or NAUMACHIA to be excavated at the Tiber, at the spot afterwards called NEMUS CÆSARUM, which park or garden must therefore have closely adjoined the river. The Naumachia was 1,800 feet, or more than the third of a mile long, and 1,200 feet broad. There is some difficulty about its exact site. The *Monumentum Ancyranum* mentions it as being *trans* Tiberim, while Tacitus[1] speaks of it as *cis* Tiberim. Suetonius, on the other hand, says that it was *circa* Tiberim,[2] round about the Tiber. May not this explain the difficulty? The soil was excavated on *both sides* of the Tiber, so that the river itself helped to form part of the basin. Thus the Naumachia might with propriety be said to be on either side of the Tiber. But the NEMUS CÆSARUM—that is, of Caius and Lucius, the grandsons of Augustus, whose name the emperor gave to it—was undoubtedly on the right bank of the Tiber, as we learn from the following lines of Statius:

> Continuo dextras flavi pete Thybridis oras,
> Lydia qua penitus stagnum navale coercet
> Ripa, suburbanisque vadum prætexitur hortis.[3]

[1] *Ann.* xii. 56. [2] *Aug.* 43.

[3] *Silvæ*, iv. 4, 5 sqq. A. W. Zumpt, in his commentary on the *Mon. Ancyranum*, p. 78, denies that this passage fixes the locality

It follows, therefore, if the Naumachia lay on one bank alone, it must have been the right bank; and Augustus, by mentioning this side in his inscription, hits two objects at once, the Lake and the Grove, or Garden. However this may be, it appears that he exhibited thirty large ships of war (rostratæ naves) in this naval fight, besides a greater number of smaller ones, and that about three thousand men took part in it, without counting the rowers. The Naumachia of Augustus existed a considerable time, and seems to have obtained the name of *Vetus Naumachia*[1] after the construction of Domitian's. We need only further mention that Augustus exhibited this naval spectacle on the occasion of his dedicating the Temple of Mars Ultor, B.C. 2.[2]

Such were the works with which Augustus adorned Rome, and the shows and pastimes with which he entertained its inhabitants. To discuss his political labours and the character of his government belongs not to our subject; though it no doubt formed part of his policy to keep the Romans in good humour by adding to the splendour of their capital, and amusing them

of the Nemus; because, says he, Statius may be alluding to the Naumachia made by Domitian. This remark is almost as unfortunate as that on the temples on the Aventine. It does not appear that any grove adjoined Domitian's lake; while it is quite certain that there was one at that of Augustus. It must be allowed, however, that the words "penitus coercet" somewhat militate against our conjecture that the Naumachia was open to the Tiber; though the coercion of three sides of the *vadum* might be enough to justify a poetical expression.

[1] Suetonius, however, must have used that name by a *prolepsis* when mentioning the naval combat exhibited by Titus: "edidit et navale prælium in *veteri* naumachia," *Tit.* 7. It was called *Vetus* in the time of Suetonius, but not in that of Titus.

[2] Vell. Pat. ii. 100. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 43; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 56, xiv. 15.

with mock combats and the slaughter of wild beasts. There is, however, one feature of his life and times which, as it is in some respects connected with the history of the city, we cannot pass over in silence. His patronage of literature procured for his reign the title of the Augustan age; and the swarm of men of genius and learning whom his patronage attracted to the capital must have been a peculiar feature of its society. We are unfortunately too little acquainted with the history of most of them to be able to recall their city lives. It would seem, however, that the Esquiline had at this time become the chief seat of the Roman muses, as the Aventine had been in the time of Ennius. This, too, like the Aventine, seems to have been a sort of proscribed hill during the republican times. Fashion appears to have turned her back on it; at least we read not of any distinguished persons who resided here, except in the Carinæ at its western extremity, though the wealthy freedman Vedius Pollio had erected here his enormous mansion. Several of its districts and monuments were of a melancholy and repulsive character; as the Tigillum Sororium and the Vicus Sceleratus, the altars of Mala Fortuna and Febris; the Subura, a low, disagreeable neighbourhood, lay close to it; but, worse than all these, part of it appears to have been occupied by a large pauper burial-ground, the Campus Esquilinus, where the bodies were thrown without much covering of earth: a place offensive to the sight and injurious to the health. It was only the rich and great who could aspire to the honours of the grave: yet slaves and paupers must be buried as well as they; and a tract outside the agger, consequently just beyond the ancient Servian pomœrium, was selected for this purpose. It seems, however, also to have contained tombs of a somewhat pretentious cha-

racter:[1] those probably of rich well-to.do burgesses, yet not great enough to command the posthumous honour of a roadside mausoleum. We gather these particulars from Horace, who has laid here the scene of Canidia's incantations:

> Nec in sepulcris pauperum prudens anus
> Novendiales dissipare pulveres.[2]

And again in his Satires:

> Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
> Conservus vili portanda locabat in arca.
> Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulcrum,
> Pantolabo scurræ, Nomentanoque nepoti.
> Mille pedes in fronte trecentos cippus in agrum
> Hic dabat.

He then proceeds to describe the incantations of Canidia and her fellow-sorceress Sagana:

> Has nullo perdere possum
> Nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum
> Protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentes.
> Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
> Canidiam, pedibus nudis passoque capillo,
> Cum Sagana majore ululantem: pallor utrasque
> Fecerat horrendas aspectu, &c.
> . . . . . .
> . . . Serpentes atque videres
> Infernas errare canes; lunamque rubentem,
> Ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulcra.[3]

Mæcenas, however, had converted this charnel-field into a garden or park, the HORTI MÆCENATIS; thus rendering the spot both healthy and agreeable:

> Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque
> Aggere in aprico spatiari, quo modo tristes
> Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.[4]

[1] Cic. *Phil.* ix. 7.
[2] *Epod.* xvii. 47.
[3] *Sat.* i. 8.
[4] *Ibid.*

Mæcenas, the munificent patron of the Roman *literati*, lived upon the Esquiline, and this probably was his motive for abolishing, or at least improving, the Campus Esquilinus, for it seems to have remained a place of burial, though doubtless of a more decent kind, and even a place of execution, as we learn from Suetonius in his life of the Emperor Claudius.[1] His house is supposed to have stood upon the site at present occupied by the ruins of the Baths of Titus, on that part of the hill which overhangs the valley of the Colosseum. It appears from several allusions to have been a very lofty structure. Horace calls it a "molem propinquam nubibus arduis,"[2] and Suetonius characterizes it by the name of "turris."[3] Hence it afforded Nero a convenient post for beholding the conflagration of Rome. For it had become the property of the imperial family. Mæcenas bequeathed it to Augustus, and it became the residence of Tiberius after his return from Rhodes.[4] This lends a probability to its having been ultimately converted by Titus into a bath.

It was natural that the Roman literati should cluster round their great patron. Virgil, we are told, dwelt upon the Esquiline, close to the Horti Mæcenatis. Here also was the abode of Propertius, as we learn from himself:

> I, puer, et citus hæc aliqua propone columna,
> Et dominum Exquiliis scribe habitare tuum.[5]

Propertius, as well as Virgil, took a great interest in the antiquities of the city, as appears from the many

[1] "Civitatem Romanam usurpantes in Campo Esquilino securi percussit."—*Claud.* 25.

[2] *Od.* ii. 20, 10.

[3] *Nero*, 31.

[4] Id. *Tib.* 15.

[5] *Eleg.* iv. (iii.) 23, 23.

allusions to the subject in his poems. It seems probable also that Horace dwelt, when in town, upon the Esquiline; but though he has left us so many notices of his life and habits, he nowhere tells us where he lived at Rome. The probability that his abode was not far from that of his friend and patron is strengthened by the description of his stroll down the Sacra Via. He was going to visit a friend who lived on the other side of the Tiber:

Trans Tiberim longe cubat is, prope Cæsaris hortos;[1]

and from the Esquline his direct road would have lain along the Sacra Via, which began just under the Esquiline; keeping to the left, towards the Temple of Vesta, when he approached the Forum as we see he did:

Ventum erat ad Vestæ, &c.[2]

Pedo Albinovanus, an elegant poet of the Augustan age, but of whom little or nothing remains, also dwelt, as may be inferred from some lines of Martial, on the Esquiline, just at the top of the ascent from the Subura through the Vicus Cyprius. At the summit was the fountain called Lacus Orphei, a circular basin with an elevated rock in the middle, on which stood a statue of Orpheus with the enchanted beasts around him.[3] Close to this fountain was Pedo's house ("Illic parva tui domus Pedonis"), which is rendered still more interesting by the circumstance that it afterwards became the residence of the younger Pliny; as we learn from the same poem of Martial's:

Nec doctum satis et parum severum,
Sed non rusticulum nimis libellum,

[1] *Sat.* i. 9, 18. [2] *Ibid.* 35. [3] Mart. x. 19.

Facundo mea Plinio Thalia
I perfer, &c.[1]

Other wits of that period probably lived in the same neighbourhood. Ovid was rather too young to enjoy the patronage of Mæcenas. He seems to have lived near the Capitol, and probably at the southern extremity of the Quirinal; whence his house would have commanded a view of the temples on the Capitoline:

Jamque quiescebant voces hominumque canumque,
Lunaque nocturnos alta regebat equos.
Hanc ego suspiciens, et ab hac Capitolia cernens,
Quæ nostro frustra juncta fuere Lari;
Numina vicinis habitantia sedibus, inquam,
Jamque oculis nunquam templa videnda meis;
Dique relinquendi, quos Urbs habet alta Quirini,
Este salutati tempus in omne mihi.[2]

The same thing may be inferred from the elegy in which he describes the route of his book, which he had sent home, and which was conveyed to the imperial palace by some benevolent citizen:

Paruit, et ducens: Hæc sunt fora Cæsaris, inquit,
Hæc est a sacris quæ via nomen habet.
Hic locus est Vestæ, qui Pallada servat et ignem:
Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numæ.
Inde petens dextram: Porta est, ait, ista Palatî, &c.[3]

The way to the palace from the Quirinal would have lain through the Forum Julium, and along the Sacra Via on the south side of the Forum Romanum.

Among his other buildings, Augustus forgot not that which was to contain his mortal remains, and thus at once to circumscribe and record his greatness. The

[1] Cf. Plin. *Epp.* lib. iii. ep. 21: "Alloquitur Musam (Martialis), mandat ut domum meam in Esquiliis quærat."

[2] *Trist.* i. 3, 27 sqq.

[3] *Trist.* iii. 1, 27 sqq.

northern part of the Campus Martius, between the Via Flaminia and the river, had for some time been selected as the burying-place of distinguished persons. Here lay the remains of Sulla, of Hirtius and Pansa, of Julius Cæsar, his aunt and daughter. Those of some of Augustus' nearer connections, Marcellus, Agrippa, Octavia, Drusus, were deposited in a magnificent MAUSOLEUM which Augustus erected at this spot as the tomb of the imperial family, and answered that purpose down to the time of Hadrian. The ruins of this mausoleum may still be seen between the Via di Ripetta, the Via de' Schiavoni, and the Via de' Pontefici.

It need only be further recorded here of the works of Augustus, that he caused to be brought to Rome from Heliopolis the obelisk which now stands on Monte Citorio, one of the most celebrated, though not the largest, in Rome. Originally it served the purpose of a sundial, whence it was called SOLARIUM AUGUSTI. It stood in the Campus Martius on an immense marble floor, on which were delineated the necessary figures, not only to exhibit the hours, but also the increase and decrease of the days.[1] Two obelisks brought from Egypt by the Emperor Claudius were also originally placed before the Mausoleum of Augustus. They are those which now stand, one before Sta. Maria Maggiore, and the other on Monte Cavallo.

Augustus died at Nola A.D. 14. His body, having been brought to Rome, was carried into the Forum on a bier, and placed before the Temple of Divus Julius at its further extremity, where Tiberius read a panegyric over it. The same ceremony was repeated at the old

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 15.

Rostra by Drusus, the son of Tiberius; after which a number of senators carried the bier on their shoulders through the Porta Triumphalis into the Campus Martius, where the body was burnt; and the ashes having been collected with the usual rites by Livia, who remained on the spot five days, were deposited in the mausoleum.[1]

[1] Suet. *Aug.* c. 100; Dion Cass. lvi. 34, 42.

SECTION IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS TO THE DEATH OF HADRIAN.

AUGUSTUS was a wise and prudent ruler, and perhaps, under the circumstances, the best that the Romans could have had at that period. He was content with the substance of power, and sought to conciliate his subjects, and accustom them to his yoke, by the moderate use which he made of it. Nothing can prove more strongly the politic effect of his reign than that it tamed the Romans to endure the gloomy tyrant who succeeded him. The reign of Tiberius is almost a blank in the history of the city. He did not once amuse the people by the exhibition of games or spectacles, and was but rarely present at those given by others. He commenced, according to Suetonius, only two public works, both of which he left unfinished, or, at all events, undedicated. These were a TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS, and the restoration of the *scena* of Pompey's theatre. The temple must have stood on the north-west side of the Palatine, as Caligula made it serve the purpose of a pier for the bridge which he threw over to the Capitoline Hill.[1] While the temple was building, a golden statue of Augustus was deposited on a couch in

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 47, *Cal.* 21 sq.; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 45.

the Temple of Mars Ultor. Suetonius also tells us[1] that Tiberius dedicated the Temples of Concord and Castor in his own name and that of his brother Drusus; but this he did before he became emperor, and these temples were probably among the eighty-two restored by Augustus. On the south-western side of the Palatine Tiberius enlarged the imperial palace by building, or adding to, the DOMUS TIBERIANA. This structure, overhanging the Velabrum, had probably been a family house before, as Tiberius is said to have been born upon the Palatine. It appears to have had a library distinct from that of the Augustan palace.[2]

Suetonius, in his enumeration of the works of Tiberius, has, however, omitted the TRIUMPHAL ARCH which he erected, A.D. 16, in commemoration of the recovery of the military ensigns which Varus had lost; a feat indeed performed by Germanicus, but under the auspices of Tiberius. The arch must have stood at the top of the Forum, near the Milliarium Aureum, and close to the Temple of Saturn,[3] probably spanning the Vicus Jugarius, which led into the Sacra Via and the Forum at this spot. Some remains of piers belonging to it are recently thought to have been discovered there; but no description of the arch is to be found in ancient authors. It was probably demolished when the Temple of Vespasian was built, either on architectural grounds, or by reason of its unpopularity. Tiberius also erected a Temple of FORS FORTUNA in the year mentioned, and probably on the same occasion, in the Horti Cæsaris on the right bank of the Tiber.

But though Tiberius undertook few public buildings,

[1] *Tib.* 20; Dion Cass. lvi. 25.

[2] Vopiscus, *Prob.* 2.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 41.

he must be allowed the merit of having assisted to restore the damage occasioned by two great fires which occurred in his reign. One of these appears to have destroyed all the buildings on the Cælian Hill. A statue of Tiberius which stood in the house of a senator named Junius alone escaped the flames, on which account it was proposed to change the name of the hill to *Augustus;* but if this name was ever applied to the hill, it certainly did not remain long in use. The other fire, which broke out near the Circus Maximus, destroyed that part of it which lay contiguous to the Aventine, as well as some buildings on that hill. Tiberius is said to have reimbursed to the owners the price of the houses destroyed in these conflagrations.[1] When we add, what we have already mentioned, that Tiberius established the prætorian camp near the Servian agger, we have recorded everything notable that he effected in the city.

Caligula, who ascended the throne on the death of Tiberius in A.D. 37, was half, if not quite, a madman; and nothing shows it more than his architectural feats. He extended the imperial palace towards the Forum, so as to make the Temple of Castor and Pollux a sort of vestibule. The passage into the palace passed between the statues of the Dioscuri; and he boasted of having converted them into his janitors or doorkeepers. Sometimes he would take his stand between the two, and thus appear to receive the adorations of those who came to worship.[2] Another extravagant feat was that just mentioned, of throwing a bridge from the Palatine to the Capitoline Hill, making the Temple of Augustus serve as a kind of pier; for he affirmed that Jove had

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 64, vi. 45. [2] Suet. *Cal.* 22; Dion Cass. lix. 28.

invited him to become his *contubernalis* and comrade. And, to carry out this project fully, he began to build a residence on the Area Capitolina, but the work never proceeded beyond laying the foundations, being probably interrupted by his death. Nay, he wished to become, as it were, the rival of Jove, and to be worshipped instead of him as Jupiter Latiaris. With which view he ordered the statue of the Olympian Jupiter to be brought to Rome; when the head was to have been cut off and another substituted bearing his own likeness. A temple for this deity was hastily erected on the Palatine; but the Greek statue was accidentally hindered from being brought, the vessel built purposely for its conveyance having been destroyed by lightning. Caligula was very angry with Jupiter for this ill-natured act; but he would not be frustrated of his purpose, and caused a golden image of himself to be set up in the temple, clothed in his usual dress. He himself officiated as his own priest, or Flamen Dialis, in conjunction with his horse Incitatus. The richest people in Rome contended with one another to be admitted into the new priesthood, and he made them pay handsomely for the honour.[1] Caligula seems also to have made other extensive alterations by building at the north-western angle of the Palatine, and altogether his works were on so large a scale that Pliny compares them with those of Nero.[2] Among them was a circus which he built in the district of the Vatican, in the HORTI AGRIPPINÆ, or gardens of his mother Agrippina, which probably occupied the site on which S. Peter's now stands. But this circus seems not to

[1] Suet. and Dion Cass. *ll. cc.*

[2] "Bis vidimus urbem totam cingi domibus principum Caii et Neronis."—*H. N.* xxxvi. 24, 5.

have been finished, or at all events never to have been used during the reign of Caligula. It was afterwards called the CIRCUS NERONIS, from its frequent employment by that emperor; though it appears to have been previously used by Claudius.[1] It was also called CAIANUM, from Caligula,[2] and is mentioned by that name in the *Notitia*.

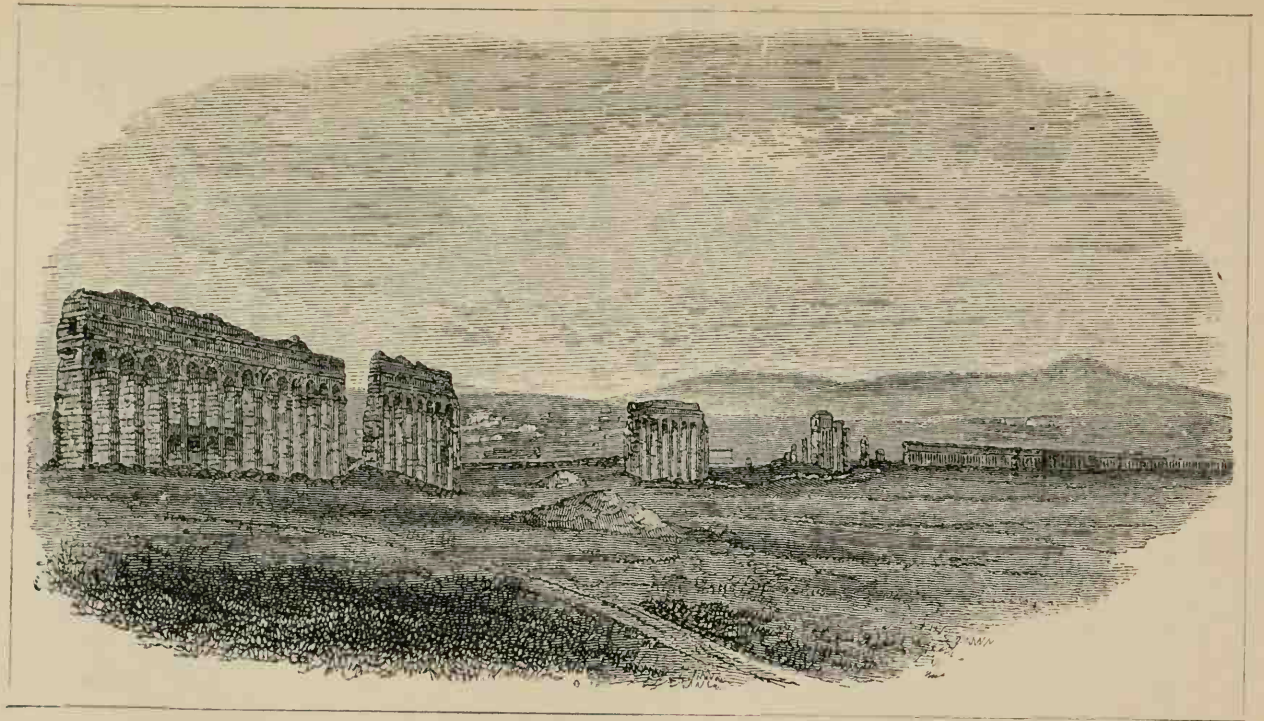
Caligula was assassinated after a reign of four years, A.D. 41. He was at first hastily buried in the HORTI LAMIANI on the Esquiline, but his remains were afterwards burnt by his sisters and reinterred.[3] The Horti Lamiani were probably the property of Ælius Lamia, to whom Horace addressed one of his odes;[4] at least we learn from Valerius Maximus that the Ælian family dwelt near the Trophies of Marius.[5] Caligula was succeeded by Claudius, the chief works of whose reign were the two aqueducts, AQUA CLAUDIA and ANIO NOVUS, which had been begun by Caligula, but left incomplete. The sources of both these aqueducts were on the Via Sublacensis; those of the Claudia near the thirty-eighth milestone, those of the Anio Novus four miles further on. The latter was the longest and noblest of all the Roman aqueducts, its course being nearly 59 miles in length, and some of its arches 109 feet in height.[6] They entered Rome in a double stream at the present Porta Maggiore, the Claudia flowing underneath the Anio Novus. The gate is formed by two arches of the duct; on the attic above, containing the channels for the water, are three inscriptions recording its construction by Claudius, and its reparation by Vespasian and Titus. Originally the water began to be distributed at

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 15; Suet. *Claud.* 21.
[2] Dion Cass. lix. 14. [3] Suet. *Calig.* 59. [4] i. 26. [5] iv. 4, 8.
[6] Front. § 13 sqq.

this point by pipes, but Nero continued the duct over the Cælian Hill in order to supply his lake. Remains of this part may be seen at the Piazza di S. Giovanni Laterano. Claudius also constructed the port of Ostia. The triumphal arch decreed by the senate to Drusus, the father of Claudius,[1] and built on the Appian Way, is probably that which still exists not far from the Porta S. Sebastiano.

Claudius on his accession demolished all that Caligula had added to the palace beyond the limits of the Palatine, and as he does not appear to have built here himself, the palace continued to consist of the houses of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula. Claudius was succeeded by Nero in A.D. 54. This emperor, though perhaps not quite so mad as Caligula, had as insane a passion for building, and especially for extending the limits of his palace, which already embraced half the Palatine Hill. We have seen that Mæcenas bequeathed his house on the Esquiline to Augustus; it had remained in the imperial family, and Nero determined to extend the precincts of the palace to the Esquiline so as to include it. He must consequently have appropriated to this purpose the remainder, or eastern side, of the Palatine Hill, together with the valley between it and the Esquiline, which afterwards became the site of the Colosseum. As the ground which he had thus appropriated embraced a considerable portion of the very heart of the city, it was necessary to leave the existing thoroughfares, and on this account he called his new palace DOMUS TRANSITORIA. But the great fire which occurred at Rome in A.D. 65, whether accidentally or purposely, cleared the ground in this quarter, and

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 1.



REMAINS OF THE AQUA CLAUDIA.

p. 250.

enabled him to carry out a much more magnificent design.

This conflagration lasted six days and seven nights. It broke out at the eastern extremity of the Circus Maximus, in some shops containing combustible materials, and, spreading to the north and west, completely destroyed three whole regions of the city, and severely damaged seven more. We have no account of all the public monuments that perished on this occasion, but we know that among them were some of the most venerable from their antiquity, as the Temple of Luna founded by Servius Tullius, the fane and altar called Magna which Evander was said to have dedicated to Hercules, the Temple of Jupiter Stator founded by Romulus, the Regia of Numa, the Temple of Vesta, and that of the Penates of the Roman people. As these monuments encircled the Palatine Hill, it would be natural to conclude that the imperial palaces on its summit must also have been destroyed. Yet if this was the case they appear to have been rebuilt on the original plan, as we find them mentioned subsequently by their former names; and that the palace of Augustus did not suffer very severely may be inferred from the fact that Suetonius states some of his furniture, beds and tables, to have been still in existence in his time.[1] The public buildings around the Forum must also have been much damaged; but we know that the Capitol escaped, as the building of Sulla and Catulus lasted till the Vitellian riots. Many masterpieces of Greek art, many antique and genuine monuments of the ancient Roman times, things which could never be replaced, perished on this occasion. The ancient monuments continued to be

[1] *Aug.* 73.

regretted by the elder citizens even amidst the splendour of the new city which rose upon their ashes. A vast amount of treasure was also destroyed, and a great many lives were lost.

Nero was at Antium when the fire broke out, but he hastened back to Rome when he heard that his new palace was in danger. He appears to have done all that he could to relieve the distress of the people. He threw open to them all the buildings of Agrippa, as well as his own gardens in the Vatican district; he caused temporary buildings to be erected in the Campus Martius and other places; he sent for furniture from Ostia and other neighbouring towns; and he directed the price of corn to be reduced to three *nummi* (the *modius*), or, according to the computation of Gibbon, 15*s.* the English quarter.[1] But these acts failed to gain him popularity. For it was whispered that, while the fire was raging, he had seized the opportunity to gratify his taste for scenic effect, and, dressed in appropriate theatrical costume, had sung the destruction of Troy amid the flames which so vividly recalled that ancient calamity. Another and graver charge was that he had wilfully caused the fire. Tacitus neither accepts nor rejects the accusation, but mentions it as made by some authors, while others attributed the conflagration to chance. A fresh outbreak of the fire on a smaller scale seems more probably Nero's work, as it recommenced in the gardens of his minion Tigellinus. Nero perhaps improved the occasion to make short work of it in certain parts.

However this may be, it cannot be denied that wise and useful measures were adopted for the rebuilding of

[1] *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii. p. 232, note (Smith's ed. 1854).

the city. The streets were laid out on an orderly plan; they were made broader, the houses were not built so high, and the fronts of the *insulæ* were protected by porticoes, which Nero erected at his own expense. The rubbish caused by the fire was carried down to the marshes about Ostia in the vessels which had brought up corn from that port. Certain parts of the houses were to be built, without wood, of Gabine and Alban stone, thought to be impervious to fire. Each house was to have a wall of its own, and not a common wall between two. Guardians were appointed for the aqueducts, so that the water should not be cut off by individuals, and there might consequently be a larger supply for public use, and everybody was directed to have appliances in readiness for extinguishing fire. All the public buildings destroyed seem to have been rebuilt on the original plan, and continued to be mentioned subsequently by the names which they had borne previously to the fire.

To avert the displeasure of the gods, so plainly signified by this great calamity, the Sibylline books were consulted. Agreeably to their directions, a *supplicatio* was made to Vulcan, Ceres, and Proserpine; Juno also was propitiated by married women, first in her temple on the Capitoline Hill, and then on the nearest seashore, whence water was brought to besprinkle her temple and image at Rome. But neither these expiations, nor the bounty of Nero, sufficed to satisfy the public mind. Rumours continued to be circulated that the fire was premeditated. To obviate this suspicion, or at least to divert the thoughts of the people into another channel, Nero devised a method as cruel as it was ineffectual. It is now that we first hear of the Christians at Rome, and, according to the testimony of Tacitus,

they amounted to a large number.[1] The Christian worship, then necessarily performed in private conventicles, and addressed not to any image of the deity adored, was calculated to inflame the Roman mind with hatred and suspicion. It was so unlike their own, in which the statue of each god represented an ever-present deity ostentatiously worshipped in open day with ceremony and pomp and sacrifice; and men are ever prone to suspect and hate those who differ from them in religion. Nero, therefore, in persecuting the Christians did an acceptable and popular act. He first seized some few from whom by horrible tortures a confession was extorted, or said to have been extorted, and they were then compelled to denounce their fellow Christians. A great number of these were convicted; not so much, says the historian, of the arson as of hatred of the human race; a suspicion which perhaps originated from their not frequenting the theatres and circuses, and from their withdrawing themselves in a great measure from the commerce of mankind. The sort of punishment adopted by Nero was agreeable to the Roman taste. He gave some games in his circus in the Vatican district, during which he mixed familiarly with the people in the dress of a charioteer, and sometimes discharged the functions of one by mounting a chariot. Some of the unhappy Christians having been covered with the skins of wild beasts, were exposed to be torn to pieces by ferocious dogs; some were crucified; others, wrapped probably in combustible materials, were made, when the shades of evening descended, to serve the purpose of torches; an example afterwards adopted by the Christians themselves, or by some at least who

[1] "Multitudo ingens."—*Ann.* xv. 44.

claimed that name.[1] But Nero missed his purpose. Although the Christians were disliked, this persecution, so evidently instituted to gratify the savageness of a despot, and not for the public good, only procured them commiseration.

The vast space cleared by the fire afforded Nero the opportunity of building a palace still more extravagant than the first, to which, from its richness and splendour, he gave the name of AUREA DOMUS, or the golden house. It is difficult to form any very precise idea of this palace from the descriptions in ancient authors.[2] It may be conjectured, however, that it occupied all that height on which the Temple of Venus and Rome and the convent of Sta. Francesca Romana now stand; and it seems probable that this hill itself may in a great degree have arisen from the earth excavated to make the lake behind it, and subsequently from the ruins of the palace. The front would naturally have been turned towards the Forum and Capitol, and this inference is confirmed by some accounts in ancient authors. Suetonius mentions that the colossal statue of Nero, which was 120 feet high, stood in the vestibule of the palace, and we learn from Dion Cassius [3] that Vespasian in his sixth consulate (A.D. 75), when he dedicated his Temple of Peace, caused the colossus, which could not have been far from the precincts of that temple, to be removed and set up on the Sacra Via at the back of the palace.

Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus
Et crescunt media pegmata celsa via,
Invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis,
Unaque jam tota stabat in urbe domus.[4]

[1] For the fire of Rome and its consequences see Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 38-44; Suet. *Ner.* 38; Dion Cass. lxii. 16.

[2] The principal are Suet. *Ner.* 31; Mart. *De Spect.* ii.

[3] lxvi. 15.

[4] Mart. *ibid.*

Vespasian's motive for changing the situation of the statue probably was that it might face the main entrance of his amphitheatre, the plan of which must have now been laid, though it was not perfected till some years afterwards. Pliny, who saw the colossus after its removal, says that it was 110 feet high, so that Suetonius probably included the base. It was the work of Zenodorus, a celebrated artist, and is said to have been a striking likeness of Nero.[1] Dion Cassius, who speaks only from hearsay, calls its height 100 feet. Hadrian, when he built his Temple of Venus and Rome, removed the colossus a few yards further to the north,[2] where its base may still be seen, in order probably that it might not interfere with the façade of that structure; but it still stood close to the amphitheatre and on the Sacra Via. The back front of the palace thus looked towards the lake which Nero had caused to be made in the valley afterwards occupied by the Flavian amphitheatre; the water was supplied by the Claudian aqueduct and Anio Novus, which, as we have seen, he had caused to be prolonged over the Cælian Hill. It appears to have been conducted over the ARCH OF DOLABELLA, near the Piazza della Navicella; which, as we learn from an inscription on it, was erected in the consulship of Dolabella and Silanus, A.D. 10; but the purpose of it has never been satisfactorily ascertained. Round about the lake were sprinkled clusters of buildings which resembled cities, and, if the perspective had been duly observed and the size of the buildings regulated accordingly, we may imagine that this would have given an appearance of great extension to the water, and would have formed no mean attempt at landscape gardening,

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 7, § 18.

[2] Spart. *Hadr.* 19.

if such an expression may be allowed. Beyond the lake, the declivities of the Cælian and Esquiline were converted into fields, vineyards, pastures, and woods, filled with a multitude of cattle and wild beasts. The imperial domains are said to have been comprised in three porticoes each a mile long; which circuit would have comprehended the Esquiline, part of the Cælian, and the Palatine. The house itself was adorned with gold, gems, and mother-of-pearl. The *cœnationes* or dining-rooms had movable ivory ceilings, with carvings of flowers, and were provided with pipes to sprinkle perfumes from above. The principal *cœnatio* was circular, and turned night and day like the earth. The baths were provided with sea-water and water from the Albula, whose sulphureous properties were much esteemed.

When this palace was completed, Nero was in a good degree contented, and condescended to remark that "he had at last begun to live like a man."[1] In fact he had engrossed the greater part of the city, and contemplated changing its name to Neropolis. Hence an epigram of those days:

> Roma domus fiet: Veios migrate, Quirites,
> Si non et Veios occupat ista domus.

But he had also formed the insane project of enlarging the city in proportion, by extending its walls to Ostia, and bringing the sea into the old city by means of a canal.[2] It should not however be omitted that Nero did something for the convenience of the people, as well as for the gratification of his own vanity, by building some baths, the THERMÆ NERONIANÆ, near those of Agrippa. They were afterwards enlarged and improved

[1] Suet. *Nero*, 31. [2] *Ibid.* 16.

by Alexander Severus; from whom they derived the name of THERMÆ ALEXANDRINÆ, by which they are mentioned in the *Notitia*.[1] He also founded a market, supposed to be that called MACELLUM MAGNUM, on the Cælian Hill, near the Temple of Claudius.[2] We are not surprised to hear that, by his extravagance in building, accompanied with an equal extravagance in feasting and all kinds of debauchery, he had at length exhausted even the means which the empire of the world placed at his disposal, so that he could not even pay his troops, and was at length reduced to rob the temples, and melt down the gold and silver images of the gods, among them those of the Dii Penates. Want of money no doubt hastened his fall; for the troops, who would have stood by him had they been well paid, were easily persuaded to proclaim the insurgent Galba emperor. Nero was compelled to fly, and with irresolute hand at length succeeded in inflicting a mortal wound upon himself in the house of his freedman Phaon, a few miles from Rome (A.D. 68). He was permitted to have a sumptuous funeral, and his ashes were deposited in a family tomb of the Domitii upon the Collis Hortorum, or Pincian Hill.[3] Such was the end of the last of the Cæsars.

The short and turbulent reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius contribute but few materials towards a history of the city. Galba lost the empire by his niggardliness, as Nero had done by his extravagance. The latter was unable to provide the pay which he owed his troops; the former was unwilling to give the donative which he had promised them. After a reign of half a year, Galba was supplanted by Otho, who, being disappointed of succeed-

[1] *Regio* ix.
[2] Dion Cass. lxi. 18; *Notitia*, *Reg.* ii.
[3] Suet. *Ner.* 50.

ing to the throne by adoption, resolved to seize it by force. But he dissembled to the last. On the very day that his plot was to be executed, he attended upon Galba in the palace, by whom as usual he was saluted with a kiss. He assisted at a sacrifice made by Galba, during which the haruspex warned the emperor of a domestic enemy; and then, pretending that he was wanted by an architect and some builders, but who were in reality soldiers whom he had appointed to meet him at the Milliarium Aureum, under the Temple of Saturn, Otho slipped out by the back part of the palace through the Domus Tiberiana into the Velabrum, and so proceeded to the place of rendezvous. Here he was saluted emperor by some two dozen soldiers, and was then conducted to the prætorian camp, being joined on the road by about the same number.

The news of the sedition soon reached the ears of Galba, and filled him with trepidation. It also spread through the city, and the palace was soon filled with a rabble clamorously demanding the death of Otho and the conspirators; though in truth they did not care a straw about the matter, and only amused themselves by making a noise, as if they had been in the circus or theatre. After long hesitation Galba determined to proceed to the Forum; and as, on account of his old age, he could not bear the pressure of the crowd, he was carried in a chair. But the insurrection of the soldiers was now complete. Some advised Galba to return to the palace, some to seek the Capitol, others to mount the Rostra. In truth, however, he was no longer master of his actions. A dense crowd had filled the Forum and the adjacent Basilicæ and temples; a crowd not violent or noisy, but silent, sullen, and curious to see the issue. Galba was swayed to and fro at the

mercy of this living mass, and could do nothing but obey its impulse. A body of cavalry arrived at the charge, and soon cleared the Forum. Those who were carrying Galba let him fall in the middle of it, close to the Lacus Curtius, where he was soon despatched by the soldiers. Titus Vinius, consul with Galba, was slain before the Temple of Divus Julius; Piso Licinianus, whom only four days before Galba had adopted as his son, and consequently as his successor, took refuge in the Temple of Vesta, where a public slave concealed him in his cell. But from this hiding-place he was dragged forth, and killed at the entrance of the temple.[1]

Otho, during his brief reign, seemed determined to adopt the acts of Nero, and is even said to have assumed his name. He caused Nero's statues to be re-erected, and recalled his ministers and officers. One of his first acts was to sign an order for fifty million sesterces, or nearly 400,000*l.*, in order to complete the Golden House; which, therefore, must have been very far from finished at the time of Nero's death.[2] But in a few months Otho lost the empire in the same violent way in which he had obtained it. Defeated near Bedriacum by Vitellius, who had commanded the legions in Germany, he put an end to his own life. Vitellius entered Rome in July, A.D. 69, with military pomp; then proceeding to the Capitol, he embraced his mother, and saluted her with the name of Augusta. But Vespasian, who had been despatched by Nero to conduct the Jewish war, had been already acknowledged emperor by the governor of Egypt; and all the East followed the example. Vitellius, hearing of the approach of the legions who had declared for Vespasian in the north, determined to

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 27, 39-42; Suet. *Oth.* 6.

[2] Suet. *Oth.* 7.

resign, and is said to have made terms with Sabinus, who led Vespasian's party at Rome. But his troops were not of the same mind. They attacked and defeated the soldiers of Sabinus, who thereupon took refuge in the Capitol. Here, against the wish of Vitellius himself, they were besieged by his soldiers. It was on this occasion that the Capitoline temple was burnt. The soldiers of Vitellius, without any commands from him, made a spontaneous and disorderly attack upon the Capitol. They attempted to force their way up the Clivus Capitolinus; but being armed only with swords they were unable to force the gate at the top of it. Meanwhile the besieged had mounted the roof of a portico which lay on the right-hand side of the Clivus, or that nearest the summit of the hill, whence they plied the Vitellians with stones and tiles. The latter now threw burning brands upon the portico, the fire occasioned by which destroyed the gate; but Sabinus prevented them from entering by blocking up the gateway with statues. The Vitellians now sought other means of access, by the Hundred Steps at the Tarpeian rock, and by the grove of the Asylum. On this side, no danger being apprehended from external enemies, private houses had been suffered to be built, the roofs of which were as high as the summit of the hill. Either the besiegers or the besieged, but more probably the latter,[1] set fire to these houses, as a means of repelling the invaders. From the houses the flames caught the porticoes surrounding the Capitoline temple, and spreading thence to the timbers which supported the pediment,

[1] Atticus, one of Sabinus' adherents, confessed that he did it; but it is not certain whether his confession was sincere. Tac. *Hist.* iii. 75.

the whole building was destroyed, without having been attacked or defended.[1]

This diaster deprived Sabinus and his followers of all presence of mind; and meanwhile the Vitellians broke in, destroying everything with fire and sword. The few who resisted were killed, and Sabinus was captured. Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, who had accompanied his uncle Sabinus to the Capitol, at first concealed himself in the apartment of the ædituus, or keeper of the temple; then, having put on the linen dress of those who ministered at the altar, he escaped unobserved among a number of those ministers, and hid himself in the house of one of his father's clients near the Velabrum. When his father attained supreme power, Domitian caused the lodge or contubernium of the ædituus to be pulled down, and dedicated on its site a little chapel to Jupiter Conservator, with an altar on which his adventure was sculptured. Afterwards, when he became emperor himself, he consecrated a large temple to Jupiter Custos, with his own image in the bosom of the god. Sabinus was led in chains to Vitellius, who wished to pardon him, and from the steps of his palace besought on his behalf the clemency of the mob. But they were determined to have a victim. Sabinus was killed and mutilated, and his headless trunk dragged to the Scalæ Gemoniæ.[2]

But Vitellius derived no advantage from this temporary success, nor from a victory gained by his brother at Terracina. The troops who had declared for Vespasian entered Rome the same day that Sabinus had been killed, and were soon masters of the city. Vitellius at first fled to the house of his wife upon the Aventine,

[1] Tac. *Hist.* iii. 71.

[2] *Ibid.* 74.

but, with his habitual irresolution, again returned to the palace. Here, however, he found himself deserted by everybody; even the meanest slave slunk from his presence, so he hid himself in despair in the remotest part of the building. Being discovered, he was dragged away to the Scalæ Gemoniæ, and there despatched with many blows, in the very place where the body of Sabinus had been exhibited.

In the reigns of Vespasian and his two sons, Rome received a vast addition to her architectural glories. When Vespasian arrived in Rome in the year 70, he found many parts of the city still in a ruinous state, just as they had been left by the fire of Nero. To remedy this defect, he issued a decree authorizing anybody who pleased to occupy the vacant spots and build upon them, if the owners neglected to do so. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was also level with the ground. Suetonius tells us that Vespasian took such an interest in its reconstruction that he was the first who began to remove the rubbish, and carried away some of it on his own shoulders.[1] But Tacitus, who gives a more circumstantial account of the matter, relates that Vespasian before his return had entrusted the restoration of the temple to L. Vestinus of the equestrian order, who laid the first stone of the new building with great solemnity on the 21st of June. The new temple was of the same form and size as the ancient one, which, the haruspices said, the gods would not allow to be altered; only its height was somewhat increased.[2]

Titus, the son of Vespasian, whom he had left to conduct the Jewish war, returned to Rome in 71, after having captured Jerusalem. The senate had decreed a

[1] *Vesp.* 8. [2] Tac. *Hist.* iv. 53.

separate triumph both to Vespasian and Titus, but they resolved to celebrate a joint one. Josephus has left us a rather minute description of this triumph. As generals *cum imperio* were not allowed to enter the city, Vespasian and Titus spent the night before their triumphal entry at the temple of Isis and Serapis, outside the walls. By whom this temple had been founded cannot be said, but its site is pretty certain. Juvenal mentions it as being very near the ancient Ovile,[1] or, what is the same thing, the more modern Septa; and apparently between it and the Pantheon of Agrippa, near the present church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva. Many statues and other objects found in this neighbourhood confirm this position.[2] The troops having mustered round this building early in the morning, the emperor and his son, crowned with laurel, marched at their head to the Porticus Octavia, where they were met by the senate, magistrates, and principal citizens. In front of the portico a suggestum had been erected, with two curule chairs, in which they took their seats. Here they were saluted with the acclamations of the soldiery, prolonged till Vespasian commanded silence; then he arose, and, having covered the greater part of his head, pronounced the accustomed prayers. Titus having done the same, after a short address from Vespasian the soldiers were dismissed to the breakfast provided for them. During this interval Vespasian and Titus withdrew to the Porta Triumphalis; where they took some refreshment, and, having put on their triumphal robes, sacrificed to the gods which stood before the gate. They then returned to their troops, and caused the triumphal procession to

[1] "Antiquo quæ proxima surgit Ovili."—*Sat.* vi. 527.

[2] Nibby, *Roma nell' anno* 1838, t. ii. p. 673.

pass through the theatres, those probably of Pompey and Marcellus,[1] in order that a greater number of persons might obtain a sight of it. For all Rome had flocked forth to behold the procession, and scarcely left room for its passage.

The historian then proceeds to describe the richness of the spoils displayed; the vast quantity of gold and silver, precious stones, and ivory; the statues of the gods, remarkable for their size, material, and workmanship; the troops of different animals; the representations of the incidents of the war, and other things of various kinds. But the most remarkable of the spoils were those taken in the Temple of Jerusalem. These comprised a golden table, equal to many talents in weight, and a golden candlestick, consisting of a base from which rose a staff or column, with branches diverging from it like tridents, at the end of each of which was a lamp. The number of these branches was seven, that being a number esteemed by the Jews. The procession of spoils was closed by the Jewish table of the laws. Then, preceded by many persons bearing images of Victory, made of ivory or gold, came Vespasian and his two sons; and it is remarkable that they were on horseback and not in triumphal chariots. So wound the slow pomp along through the city and up the Capitoline Hill to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; which, we may suppose, had now again risen

[1] This now appears to me to be the most probable interpretation of the words *διὰ τῶν θεάτρων*: first, because the Circus can hardly come under the name of a theatre; and secondly, because Josephus mentions this as an exceptional instance, done to gratify the crowd; whereas the triumphs always passed through the Circus. Josephus, indeed, does not say that Vespasian and Titus returned from the Porta Triumphalis; but that may easily be understood.

from its ashes. Before the temple it halted awhile, according to custom, till the death of the conquered general of the enemy should be announced. This was Simon, the son of Giora, who, after having been exhibited in the procession among the captives, was dragged with a cord round his neck to the place of execution overhanging the Forum, and scourged with rods as he went. The announcement of his death was received with acclamations; then the sacrifices commenced, and after a solemn thanksgiving the emperor and his sons returned to the palace, where they gave a splendid banquet; and the feasting was universal throughout the city.[1]

Vespasian, when he had regulated the affairs of the Empire, determined to erect a splendid TEMPLE OF PEACE. The site which he selected for it was near the north-eastern extremity of the Forum. As it was surrounded with a large open space, it must have served, like the Fora of Julius and Augustus, to relieve the Forum Romanum; and indeed it sometimes bore the name of FORUM PACIS. The temple was a most magnificent structure, and the interior was adorned with *chefs-d'œuvre* of Greek sculpture and painting, which seem to have been mostly taken from Nero's palace; for Vespasian caused that monument of insane extravagance to be demolished. Here also were placed the Jewish spoils, except the laws and the veil of the temple, which were deposited in the imperial palace. To the temple was annexed a library which served not only for study, but also for the meetings of literary men. The temple was burnt down in the reign of Commodus, and does not appear to have been restored.[2] Vespasian also erected on the Cælian

[1] Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* lib. vii. c. 5.

[2] Suetonius, *Vesp.* 9; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24; Josephus, *B. J.* vii. 5, sub fin.; A. Gell. v. 21.

Hill a TEMPLE to the EMPEROR CLAUDIUS, which had been begun by Agrippina, but destroyed by Nero.[1] The exact site of it, however, cannot be determined.

As a great number of Jews appear to have resorted to Rome, after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, it may be proper to say a few words respecting their condition there.

The capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in B.C. 63, on which occasion Sulla's son, Faustus, was the first man to scale the walls, appears to have caused the settlement of many Jews at Rome. Pompey brought thither a number of Jewish slaves, and after this time we begin to hear of Jewish freedmen and other Hebrews, attracted probably to the Roman capital by views of trade and speculation. Pompey, accompanied by some of his officers, appears to have penetrated into the holy of holies, which the chief priest alone was permitted to enter, and there to have viewed the golden table and candlesticks already described, with other sacred utensils, besides consecrated money to the value of two million talents; but he touched nothing of all these things, and, the day after his entry, directed the temple to be purified and worship to be resumed as usual. The treasure was afterwards plundered by Crassus. Judæa retained its own princes, who lived on friendly terms with the first Roman emperors. Julius Cæsar appears to have favoured them; they deplored his death with weeping and lamentations, and gathered round his tomb for nights together.[2] Philon Judæus, in his description of the embassy to Caligula,[3] of which he was himself the head, adverts to the mildness with which Augustus had

[1] Suet. *Vesp.* 9. [2] Suet. *Jul. Cæs.* 84.
[3] *Opera*, p. 728 (Paris, 1552).

treated the Jews. He allowed them to observe the customs of their forefathers, to hold their synagogues, to observe their Sabbath, to receive the distributions of corn on the following day, and to transmit money to Jerusalem, for the purpose of sacrifice; nay, he is even said to have adorned the Jewish Temple with costly offerings, and to have caused splendid sacrifices to be made there. Several Jewish princes who visited Rome were treated with great distinction, and some were even educated at the imperial court. Agrippa, the grandson of Herod, was brought up with Claudius, the future emperor, and with Drusus, the son of Tiberius; he formed an intimacy with Caligula, who made him king of the Jews. Towards the Jews in general that emperor, however, conceived a great animosity, because they were the only people who refused to recognize his divinity; and he received the embassy of Philon and the Jews at Alexandria with every mark of contumely and insult. He directed Petronius, governor of Syria, to cause his statue to be erected in the temple at Jerusalem. The scene which ensued touched even the heart of Petronius. He entreated the emperor to alter his purpose, and Caligula at last yielded to the representations of his early friend Agrippa, who came to Rome to intercede with him.

But it is with the domestic life of the Jews at Rome that we are more particularly concerned. Under Julius Cæsar and Augustus they appear to have been perfectly unmolested. They seem at this period to have lived chiefly in the Transtiberine district; but they were not confined to any particular place, and had full liberty to move about the city and transact their business. There must have been many thousand Jews at Rome in the time of Augustus. Josephus relates that an embassy

from Jerusalem to that emperor was joined at Rome by more than 8,000 Jews,[1] who may be presumed to have been adult males.

At first the Jews and Christians were regarded by the Romans as the same sect, which was natural enough, as most of the early Christians were converted Jews;[2] and as they were thus confounded, so they experienced the same persecutions. Tiberius, by the advice of Sejanus, banished 4,000 Jews to Sardinia, where they were to serve against the bandits and were expected to perish by the climate;[3] the rest were ordered to leave Italy unless they renounced their religion before a fixed day. This severity appears to have been excited by the roguery and malpractices of four of the sect. But Tiberius, having afterwards discovered the innocence of the great mass of them, not only pardoned them, but also conferred upon them many benefits. In the year 51 they were again driven from the city by Claudius. But they always returned. Titus brought a great number of Jewish captives to Rome. Among them was Berenice, the beautiful daughter of Agrippa Herodes I., whom he made his mistress, and would have made his wife but for fear of the Romans. Vespasian and Titus permitted the Jews to remain at Rome; but they were treated with a sort of contempt; nor did Titus deem it consistent with his dignity to assume from his conquest of them the title of Judaicus. They were now obliged to offer to the Capitoline Jupiter the tribute which they had been accustomed to pay into the treasury of their

[1] *Ant.* lib. xvii. c. 11 (12).

[2] Thus Suetonius says of them: "Judæos *impulsore Christo* assidue tumultuantes, Roma expulit."—*Claud.* 25.

[3] "Et si ob gravitatem cœli interissent, vile damnum."—Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* lib. xviii. c. 3 (4); Suet. *Tib.* 36.

temple. Domitian confined them, singularly enough, to the valley of Egeria, where they seem to have lived in gipsy fashion, their whole furniture being a basket and a bundle of hay:

> Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
> Judæis, quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex.[1]

Like the gipsies, too, they picked up some money by fortune-telling:

> Ære minuto
> Qualiacunque voles Judæi somnia vendunt.[2]

From these and other arts they fell into such contempt that it was a reproach to have been seen in one of their synagogues; though the worship of Isis, Mithras, Priapus, or any other outlandish deity, might be attended with impunity. After the time of Domitian we have few notices of the Jews at Rome; though no doubt great numbers of them repaired thither after the second overthrow of Jerusalem by Hadrian. Alexander Severus allowed them to settle in the Trastevere, which seems to have been peopled by Jews till a late period of the middle ages, as the Bridge of S. Angelo was called the Jews' Bridge.[3] But to return from this digression.

Vespasian may probably have found room for his Temple of Peace, a splendid monument of his Jewish triumphs, from the space having been cleared by Nero's fire, and not again entirely occupied. It is certain at least that Nero's insane extravagance in laying out his gardens afforded Vespasian the opportunity of building

[1] Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 13. [2] *Ibid.* vi. 546.

[3] An account of the Jews in Rome, from Pompey to Nero, will be found in Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, l. ii. c. 23. Cf. Gregorovius, *Figuren, &c.*

his amphitheatre, the greatest architectural wonder of the world. Augustus appears to have entertained the idea of erecting an amphitheatre in the middle of the city;[1] but was probably deterred by the many more necessary and pressing works which he was compelled to undertake. A new amphitheatre had indeed now also become necessary, as that of Statilius Taurus had been destroyed in the fire of Nero.[2]

The expanse of ground covered by Nero's lake offered an excellent site for such a building. It seems probable that the arena was considerably lower than it is at present, since it was sometimes converted into a Naumachia, on which occasions the water would have been supplied by Nero's aqueduct, which, as we have seen, he had brought hither to feed his lake. It forms no part of our purpose to enter into a minute description of this wonderful structure. Its form is an ellipsis, the length of the major axis from the outside wall being 620 feet, and of the minor axis 513. The arena is considerably less than half these dimensions. It was surrounded by a podium and seats rising in three divisions, or storeys, to a height of 157 feet, and calculated to contain 87,000 spectators. The name of Colosseum which it bore in the dark ages was probably derived from its magnitude.

The Flavian Amphitheatre seems to have been commenced after the Jewish triumph. Vespasian did not live to finish it. Titus dedicated it in the year 80, though it does not appear to have been completed till the reign of Domitian. At the same time Titus dedicated his baths, the Thermæ Titi, which stood upon the Esquiline, at no great distance from the amphitheatre,

[1] Suet. *Vesp.* 9.

[2] Dion Cass. lxii. 18.

where considerable remains of them may still be seen. I am now inclined to think that they occupied the site on which the house of Mæcenas had previously stood. They had been built in a hurry—Martial calls them "*velocia* munera"[1]—in order probably to be dedicated along with the amphitheatre. This ceremony was performed with unparalleled magnificence; the games exhibited lasted a hundred days. There was a combat of storks, and another of four elephants. The number of wild beasts killed was 5,000—Dion Cassius says 9,000—some of which were despatched by women. There were also many combats of gladiators, in pairs and in troops. The amphitheatre having been suddenly filled with water, horses, bulls, and other animals were brought in, which had been taught to perform in the water the same evolutions which they went through on land. Vessels were then introduced, which represented the sea-fight between the Corinthians and Corcyreans. Similar sports were also exhibited in the grove of Caius and Lucius, and in the Naumachia which Augustus had excavated there.[2]

As appurtenances, apparently, of the amphitheatre, we find mentioned on the adjacent Cælian Hill certain of the gladiatorial schools and places where the gladiators armed themselves, where their dead bodies were stripped, and where the wounded were tended. Such are the Ludus Matutinus and Gallicus, or Dacicus, the

[1] *De Spect.* ii. 7. Cf. Suet.: "thermis juxta celeriter extructis." *Tit.* 7. It may be observed that in the same poem Martial calls the ground on which the baths stood part of the *ager*, park or garden, of Nero, so that the Golden House could not have stood here. But the baths were undoubtedly erected on the site of a large building formerly existing; most probably the house of Mæcenas, burnt down in the fire.

[2] Dion Cass. lxvi. 25; Suet. *Tit.* 7; Eutrop. lib. vii. c. 21.

Spoliarium, Saniarium, and Armamentarium, mentioned in the *Notitia* in the second region, or Cælimontium.

Under the south-western side of the amphitheatre stood the fountain called META SUDANS, the ruins of which in the midst of a circular basin may still be seen. The chroniclers[1] call it a work of Domitian, but it must have existed before his time, as it is mentioned by Seneca,[2] and is seen on a medal struck in the eighth consulship of Titus to commemorate the dedication of the amphitheatre. Domitian, however, who was also consul for the seventh time that year, may possibly have restored the fountain.

At the western end of the amphitheatre, as we have already said, Vespasian had re-erected Nero's Colossus. He had, however, previously caused it to be altered into an image of Apollo, by taking off Nero's head and substituting that of the sun-god surrounded with rays. Hence Martial:

> Nec te detineat miri radiata Colossi
> Quæ Rhodium moles vincere gaudet opus.[3]

To any one who had arrived at the Summa Sacra Via, as Martial supposes his book had, the Colossus must then have been a very conspicuous and striking object, as Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome was not yet there to interrupt the view, and the Colossus itself, as we have said, probably stood upon its site. The Emperor Commodus is related to have again taken off the head and to have substituted a likeness of himself, adding the attributes of Hercules.[4] But it must have been

[1] Quoted by Becker, *Röm. Alterth.* B. i. S. 530. [2] *Ep.* 56.

[3] Lib. i. 70 (71), vers. 7. Suetonius states that Vespasian very handsomely remunerated the artist who altered the statue. *Vesp.* 18.

[4] Dion Cass. lxxii. 22; Lamprid. *Comm.* 17.

subsequently restored to the likeness of Apollo, as it is described in the *Notitia*[1] as having seven rays round its head, each twenty-two feet long. But the measurement of twelve feet, assigned to these rays by the pseudo Victor, is probably more correct. The larger measure would be out of all proportion, and is probably an error of the copyist. The statue must have existed till at least the beginning of the sixth century, as it is mentioned by Cassiodorus; after which we lose all trace of it.

In a short reign of two years Titus could do little more than complete the buildings which his father had begun. It is probable that he had planned the triumphal arch which bears his name, but he certainly did not live to complete it; and we shall therefore describe it under the works of Domitian. This last-named emperor adorned the city with a great many buildings, for some of which room had been prepared by a great fire which happened in the year 80, the same in which Titus had dedicated the amphitheatre. This conflagration, which raged three days and nights, was particularly destructive in the region of the Circus Flaminius lying immediately under the Capitoline Hill, as well as to that hill itself. The Temple of Isis and Serapis, the Septa, the buildings erected here by Agrippa, namely, the Temple of Neptune, the Baths, the Pantheon, and the Diribitorium, with the theatre of Balbus, the scena of Pompey's theatre, and the Porticus Octavia, were destroyed or injured, also the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the temples which surrounded it.[2] Domitian restored all these buildings, the Capitol especially with great splendour, and affixed his own name to them

[1] *Regio* iv.

[2] Dion Cass. lxvi. 24; Suet. *Tit.* 8.

without mentioning their founders; a device, however, which did not succeed in robbing these of their due honour. He is also said by late writers to have restored the Curia; but Suetonius, in enumerating his restorations, does not mention it, which, had it been a fact, he would surely have done in the case of so important a building. Besides these restorations he undertook several new works. Among these were the Temple to JUPITER CUSTOS on the Capitol, to which we have already alluded. A TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN and TITUS on the Clivus Capitolinus, of which three columns still remain, close to the south side of the Temple of Concord. The TEMPLE OF THE GENS FLAVIA, mentioned by Suetonius, appears to have been distinct from this. Domitian erected it on the site of the house in which he was born, in a place called *ad Malum Punicum*, or the Pomegranate, in the sixth region, and consequently on the Quirinal Hill. It appears to have served as a sort of mausoleum for the Flavian family; as we learn that the remains of Julia, the daughter of Titus, as well as those of Domitian himself, were deposited there.[1] From the frequent laudatory allusions to it in Martial, it would seem to have been a magnificent structure.[2] The FORUM TRANSITORIUM was founded by Domitian, but was completed by Nerva, whence it also obtained the name of FORUM NERVÆ. It adjoined the Forum Augustum and Forum Julium on the east, and was consequently situated between them and the Temple of Peace. It was called Pervium, or Transitorium, probably because a street ran through it from north to south, which was not the case with the other Fora. It was also called FORUM PALLADIUM, because it contained

[1] Suet. *Dom.* 1 and 17. [2] Lib. ix. *Epp.* 4, 35.

a large Temple of Pallas, or Minerva, a deity for whom Domitian affected a particular veneration. The two large half-buried columns, called the Colonnacce, before the baker's shop at the corner of the Via della Croce Bianca, running out from the Via Alessandrina, may have belonged to this temple, or perhaps more probably, as some writers are of opinion, formed part of a shrine of Minerva inserted in the wall which enclosed the Forum. Domitian also erected here a JANUS QUADRIFRONS, or archway with four gates, like that which still exists in the Forum Boarium. Hence Martial:

> Pervius exiguos habitabas ante Penates,
> Plurima qua medium Roma terebat iter.
> Nunc tua Cæsareis cinguntur limina donis,
> Et fora tot numeras, Jane, quot ora geris.[1]

There was most probably a statue in it of Janus with four faces, but we cannot believe with Nibby[2] that it became the temple of peace and war. The little ancient bronze Temple of Janus near the Curia still remained to discharge the functions assigned to it by Numa. Thus Statius:

> Attollit vultus, et *utroque a limine* grates
> Janus agit: quem tu, *vicina Pace ligatum*,
> Omnia jussisti componere bella, *novique*
> In leges jurare *fori*[3]—

where we see that Janus gives thanks from his old temple with two gates; though another image of him in the new Forum is adverted to, and its position indicated near the Temple of Peace. Procopius also adverts to the bronze temple and the Janus *with two faces*, as remaining in his time in its ancient position.[4]

[1] Lib. x. 28.
[2] *Roma nell' anno* 1838, t. ii. p. 225.
[3] *Sylvæ*, iv. 1, 11.
[4] *Bell. Goth.* i. 25.

Just in this neighbourhood, on the eastern side of the Temple of Peace, Domitian appears to have possessed some spice warehouses, on the spot where the Basilica of Constantine afterwards stood; a circumstance from which we may infer that the Eastern spice trade had become a sort of imperial monopoly.[1] At the top of the Velian ridge, spanning the Summa Sacra Via, Domitian seems to have erected the triumphal ARCH to his brother TITUS, still one of the most elegant monuments of ancient Rome. Its sculptures record the Jewish triumph of that emperor. Among them may be seen the seven candlesticks which, as already mentioned, he brought from Jerusalem; whence during the middle ages the arch obtained the name of Arcus Septem Lucernarum. The apotheosis of Titus is represented in the middle of the vault. The erection of arches and archways was a peculiar whim of Domitian's, for Janus shared his veneration with Minerva. The temple of that goddess which he is said to have built may have been at S. Adriano. Domitian took a great interest in games and sports of all kinds. To the ancient colours, or factions, of the Circus, albata, prasina, russata, and veneta, he added two new ones, the aurata and purpurea. He built a permanent STADIUM[2] for foot-races after the Grecian fashion, for which Julius Cæsar and Augustus had erected only temporary and occasional ones. It probably occupied the site of the Piazza Navona, as Becker conjectures. He repaired the Temple of Minerva, which, as already related, had been founded by Pompey near the spot afterwards occupied by the Baths of Agrippa. He also erected in the same neighbourhood an ODEUM, or roofed theatre for musical performances,

[1] *Cat. Imp. Vienn.* p. 243. [2] Suet. *Dom.* 5.

capable of holding from 10,000 to 12,000 persons. These musical contests formed part of the games which he instituted in honour of the Capitoline Jupiter; for he could never forget what he owed to that deity, who had preserved him from the Vitellians. These games were celebrated every five years, and consisted of musical, equestrian, and gymnastic contests. He presided at them in person in a Greek dress, and having on his head a golden crown with the effigies of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.[1] Among his other works was also a new NAUMACHIA, which probably lay in the Vatican district; St. Peter's being designated in the dark ages as "apud Naumachiam."[2] The space in this district called *Naumachia* also comprised a sepulchral pyramid, larger than the existing one of Cestius, which in the middle ages was called "Sepulcrum Romuli." It existed till near the end of the fifteenth century, when it was demolished by Pope Alexander VI.[3]

Besides these foundations, which served for the re-recreation of the people as well as his own, Domitian made many improvements and additions in the palace on the Palatine. He appears to have added several *diætæ*, a portico called *Sicilia*, a dining-room to which he gave the name of *Cœnatio Jovis*, and other things. One of the most striking features of his new palace was its extraordinary height. Martial describes it as towering above the clouds:

> Æthera sic intrat, nitidis ut conditus astris
> Inferiore tonet nube serenus apex.[4]

[1] Suet. *Dom.* 4.

[2] Anas. *Leon.* c. 90; Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.* p. 291.

[3] "In Naumachia est sepulcrum Romuli quod vocatur meta."—*Mirab. Rom.*

[4] Lib. viii. 36, 7.

And Statius compares the ceiling to the cope of heaven:

Fessis vix culmina prendas
Visibus auratique putes laquearia cœli.[1]

Adjoining the palace seem to have been the GARDENS OF ADONIS, mentioned by Philostratus as the place where Domitian received the philosopher Apollonius.[2] These gardens must have been situated on the eastern side of the Palatine Hill, the only place where there is room for them. That Domitian's additions extended towards this quarter may also be inferred from his building on the Cælian Hill a banqueting room called MICA AUREA.[3] But, in the midst of all this splendour and luxury, the tyrant went in daily fear of assassination. He could not even walk in his old palace without dreading some lurking murderer, perhaps among the very persons who were escorting him; and he therefore caused the walls of the portico in which he usually walked to be covered with a shining substance called *phengites*, so as to serve as a mirror, and show what the persons behind him were about.[4]

It will be seen from the preceding account that Domitian must be reckoned among the emperors who did much for Rome in the way of architectural adornment. Martial, his flatterer, says, that if the gods should have to settle with him for what he had done for them, Jove would become bankrupt though he should sell all Olympus.[5] But these are the only merits which could give him any pretension to the colossal equestrian statue erected to him in the Forum. From Statius' description of it,[6] we see that it faced the temple of Julius Cæsar.

[1] *Silv.* iv. 2, 30.
[2] *De Vita Apollonii Tyanei*, vii. 14.
[3] Mart. ii. 59.
[4] Suet. *Dom.* 14.
[5] Lib. ix. ep. 4.
[6] *Silv.* i. 1.

Hinc obvia limina pandit,
Qui fessus bellis, adscitæ munere prolis,
Primus iter nostris ostendit in æthera divis.

On the right hand was the Basilica Julia, on the left the Basilica Pauli:

At laterum passus hinc Julia tecta tuentur,
Illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli.

Behind him was his father Vespasian, and the deity Concord, in their temples on the Clivus Capitolinus, as already indicated:

Terga pater blandoque videt Concordia vultu.

The head of the statue must have been turned a little to the right; as it is described as looking towards the Palatium and the Temple of Vesta.

Domitian met the death which he had always apprehended. He was assassinated by some of his own officers, A.D. 96. The reign of Nerva, who succeeded him, was too short to permit him to do much towards the embellishment of the city; but he dedicated the Forum Transitorium already described, which Domitian had left incomplete; after which it appears to have borne Nerva's name.[1]

Nerva was succeeded by M. Ulpius Trajanus, whom he had adopted. Trajan's reign lasted nineteen years (A.D. 98-117). The family of the Ulpii appears to have possessed a residence on the northern side of the Aventine, where Trajan lived previously to his accession to the empire. Trajan must be reckoned among the emperors who did the most for the improvement of Rome. His taste for building and bequeathing his monuments to posterity seems to have been quite a passion, which

[1] Suet. *Dom.* 5; Aur. Vict. *De Cæs.* 12.

he sometimes indulged not altogether fairly, if we may believe the anecdote that he was accustomed to inscribe his name on buildings which he had merely restored, as if he had been their founder; a practice which procured him the nickname of "pellitory" (herba parietina), a kind of parasitical plant that grows upon walls.[1] Among the monuments of this emperor may be enumerated the THERMÆ TRAJANI, near the church of S. Martino, to the north of those of Titus. No remains of them are in existence. A THEATRE in the Campus Martius, and probably in the same neighbourhood a BASILICA MARCIANÆ, so called in honour of his sister. The theatre appears to have been demolished by Hadrian.[2] The aqueduct called AQUA TRAJANA and CIMINIA, commencing in the neighbourhood of the Lacus Sabatinus, or Lago di Bracciano, and running to the Janiculum; where it was employed to turn the corn mills on the descent. This duct still conveys the water of the Acqua Paola, and the mills continue to subsist probably much in the same situation as eighteen hundred years ago.

But the FORUM TRAJANI was the greatest and most magnificent of all this emperor's undertakings. Under this name may be comprehended three distinct works: namely, the FORUM, properly so called, adjoining on the west those of Julius and Augustus; a large Basilica, the BASILICA ULPIA, having on its western side an open area on which stood, and still stands, the celebrated COLUMN; lastly, at the extremity of all these, a magnificent TEMPLE, dedicated by Hadrian to Trajan, but which the latter emperor may probably have contemplated erecting. The architect of these great works, which are

[1] Amm. Marcell. lib. xxvii. c. 3, § 5.

[2] Spart. *Hadr.* 9.

supposed to have been designed if not begun by Domitian, was Apollodorus of Damascus.[1]

We have already remarked that the Quirinal at this part threw out a sort of isthmus or projection towards the Capitoline Hill, which it was necessary to level in order to gain room for the new Forum. It is recorded by Dion Cassius,[2] and, indeed, an inscription on the column tells the same thing, that the earth was excavated to the height of the pillar, or 128 Roman feet. How great an improvement this must have been will appear when we consider that by this means a broad and noble thoroughfare was made between the ancient city and that handsome quarter of it which had sprung up about the Circus Flaminius, before approachable only through a narrow, steep, and inconvenient street. The whole length of these magnificent works, from the archway by which the new Forum was entered from the Forum of Augustus, to the extremity of the area on the other side in which stood the Temple of Trajan, was 1,100 Roman feet, which is only a very little less than English measure.[3] The column stood precisely in the middle. This beautiful pillar, still one of the most striking objects at Rome, was the first of the kind erected in that city, though the Greeks appear to have had such monuments previously.[4] The area of the temple extended to the north-west as far as the church of S. Romualdo. This part is now covered with buildings; namely, the palaces Torlonia and Valentini, and the two churches near the column. The area in which the column stands is from east to west eighty feet. On

[1] Dion. Cass. lxix. 4.

[2] lxviii. 16.

[3] The modern Roman foot is $11\frac{7}{100}$ English in.; the ancient Roman foot about $11\frac{85}{100}$ English inches.

[4] Ampère, t. iv. p. 46.

each side of it, north and south, were two libraries, the Bibliotheca Græca and the Latina. They are called by Aulus Gellius "Bibliotheca Templi Trajani,"[1] and in fact they stood, like the column, just in front of the temple. The pillar has a diameter of between twelve and thirteen feet at the base, diminishing by only a little more than a foot at the top. It appears to have been destined by Trajan for a sepulchre. All the niches in the mausoleum of Augustus were now full, Nerva being the last whose ashes were deposited there. Those of Trajan appear to have been placed either under the column or in the pedestal.[2] A colossal statue of Trajan, holding in his hand a golden globe, stood originally on the summit, which Pope Sixtus V. replaced with a statue of S. Peter. A spiral band of bas-reliefs encircles the column from top to bottom, the width of the band gradually enlarging as it ascends, so that the figures, which are about two feet in height at the bottom, appear to the spectator of the same size throughout. The figures, between two and three thousand in number, representing Trajan's Dacian wars, are beautifully sculptured, and form a rich repertory of costumes.

Next to the area of the column on the east, stretching lengthways across the western boundary of the Forum Trajani so as to form one of its sides, lay the Basilica Ulpia, so called from the name of the *gens* to which Trajan belonged. Its length cannot be accurately determined, but was probably about 300 feet, and its width 185 feet. It was divided by four rows of columns into five naves, of which the centre one was 85 feet broad, and the four side ones 18 feet.[3] It is

[1] *N. A.* xi. 17. [2] Dion. Cass. lxix. 2; Eutrop. viii. 5.
[3] Nibby, *Roma, &c.* t. ii. p. 193.

supposed to have been terminated at each extremity by semicircular buildings or porticoes, and some topographers have even ventured to indicate their uses; but it is by no means certain that they even existed.

Next to the Basilica on the east was the Forum, called also Atrium Fori Trajani, a square open space of 300 feet on every side, enclosed by porticoes. In the middle stood a colossal equestrian statue of Trajan. On the north-east side of this Atrium, that is, under the Quirinal Hill, are the remains of a semicircular substruction of brickwork, which, from its being of the same level as the Forum, and corresponding with its lines, formed no doubt a part or adjunct of it. The space was perhaps occupied by shops. It is supposed that there was a similar building on the other side of the Forum, under the Capitol. The porticoes which formed the arcs of these semicircles gave the Forum its rectangular form. The Forum was entered at its eastern extremity by a triumphal arch, some vestiges of which are recorded by Flaminio Vacca as existing in his time.[1]

In the reigns of Domitian and Trajan flourished the last school of Roman literature that is fairly entitled to be called classical. By a caprice of nature not easily to be explained, Domitian united with a cruelty quite idiotic a certain sort of talent and a love for literature and art. In his reign and that of his successor flourished Silius Italicus, Statius, Martial, Juvenal, Pliny the younger, Tacitus, Quinctilian, and a few other authors whom it is not necessary here to enumerate. But we have few particulars of their lives, and little or nothing to connect them with a history of

[1] *Memorie.* No. 40.

the city. Pliny, as we have seen in the preceding section, dwelt upon the Esquiline. His friend Martial, as we learn from his epigrams, lived near the Temple of Flora and the ancient Capitol on the Quirinal, and apparently on the south-western side of the hill, as his house commanded a view of the Porticus Vipsania in the Campus Agrippæ.[1] Of the city life of the other writers named we have no particulars, though there is perhaps enough in some passages of Juvenal's writings, and in their general tone of dissatisfaction and bitterness, to warrant a conjecture that he was, notwithstanding the account of his being the son of a rich freedman, a lodger of scanty means, and nearly approaching the condition of a garreteer of the last century in England. A comparison of his writings with those of Horace, and of Tacitus with Livy, will show what an alteration had been effected in the taste and style of the Romans by a century of despotism. All the *bonhomie* of the Augustan age, the trusting and almost childish confidence in a form of government not yet tested by experience, had vanished, leaving dark suspicions, only too much warranted by facts. Hence a style full of epigram and point, in which home truths and profound observations were conveyed in the fewest possible words. It seemed as if these later authors dreaded to give their thoughts free and natural utterance, and were thus led to condense what they did say into a form that should be long remembered, and leave a sting behind.

Trajan died in 117, and was succeeded by Hadrian. This emperor had also a taste for architecture, and erected many public works. Hadrian appears to have

[1] Lib. v. 22, 2, and i. 108, 2.

possessed a private residence in the twelfth region, or Piscina Publica, where it is mentioned in the *Notitia* along with a house of Cornificia. This lady was the sister of M. Antoninus, whom Hadrian had adopted. Hadrian transferred into the same region a Temple of the Bona Dea which had previously stood on the Aventine, by causing it to be rebuilt under the hill. Hence it obtained the name of TEMPLUM BONÆ DEÆ SUB-SAXONÆ.[1] But the greatest works of this emperor were the Temple of Venus and Rome, and his mausoleum, together with the bridge which connected it with the city.

The TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROME, called also TEMPLUM URBIS, stood nearly parallel with the Summa Sacra Via and Arch of Titus, facing on one side the Colosseum, on the other the Forum. Thus it occupied the site on which had previously stood the atrium of Nero's Golden House. Dion Cassius relates that Hadrian designed this temple himself,[2] and that he sent the plan of it to Apollodorus, the architect of Trajan's works, with whom he appears to have previously had some disputes, in order to show the artist what he could do without his assistance. The pungent criticisms of Apollodorus, who is said to have remarked that the temple should have been built on a loftier substruction, and that the cells were not high enough for the images of the goddesses, who, if they rose from their seats, would not be able to go out, are said to have vexed Hadrian to such a degree that he caused the unfortunate architect to be put to death. The temple was erected on an artificial terrace or substruction, 500 feet long, and 300 broad, and about 26 feet high.

[1] Spart. *Hadr.* 19.

[2] Lib. lxix. 4.

The vaultings or arches of this may still be seen on the side facing the Colosseum. The temple consisted of two cells, the absides or tribunes of which lay back to back; so that one of the goddesses looked towards the Colosseum, the other towards the Forum. The absis fronting the Colosseum still remains; the other is engrossed by the convent of Sta. Francesca. The temple was surrounded with a portico 400 feet long and 200 broad. Another portico of about 400 columns ran round the boundaries of the terrace or enclosure. The columns are estimated to have been about 40 feet high. The roof of the temple was composed of bronze tiles, as appears from the fact related by Anastasius, that, when the Emperor Heraclius visited Rome, Pope Honorius I. obtained the gift of them in order to roof St. Peter's. The Colossus of Nero was again removed when this temple was built, and placed on the pedestal which may still be seen on the north-west side of the Colosseum.[1] From medals of Hadrian and his successor Antoninus Pius, representing the temple, it appears that Rome had the epithet of *æterna*, and Venus of *felix*.[2] Altogether it must have been among the most magnificent structures of the sort in Rome. It is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus in conjunction with the Capitoline temple, the Flavian amphitheatre, the Pantheon, and other of the grandest buildings of Rome.

It has been seen that the mausoleum of Augustus was full, and that Trajan had consequently erected his column for a tomb. Hence Hadrian was led to build a mausoleum for himself and his successors on the plan of that of Augustus. The spot he chose for it was on the opposite bank of the river, in the gardens of Domi-

[1] Spart. *Hadr.* 19.

[2] Nibby, *Roma nell' anno* 1838, t. ii. p. 626.

tian, where the remains of it have been converted into the Castle of S. Angelo. It was probably completed in the lifetime of Hadrian, as his adopted son Ælius Verus, who died a little before him, appears to have been buried in it. It seems to have been used as an imperial sepulchre down to the time of Septimius Severus.[1] The MOLES HADRIANI is still one of the most remarkable monuments of Rome. The PONS ÆLIUS, built by Hadrian as an approach to the mausoleum, occupied the same spot as the present Ponte di S. Angelo.

The splendid villa built by Hadrian at the foot of the ascent to Tivoli lies not within the compass of this work.

[1] Nibby, *Roma, &c.* t. ii. p. 492 sqq.

SECTION V.

FROM THE DEATH OF HADRIAN TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE I.

IN the reign of Hadrian Rome had attained its greatest pitch of architectural splendour; and although some magnificent structures were erected after his time, we must, on the whole, date from this period the decline of the city.

Hadrian, who died in 138, was succeeded by Antoninus Pius. We have few monuments of this emperor. He may possibly have erected the temple which stands at the north-eastern corner of the Forum to his consort Faustina, which after his death was made common to them both. Remains of this temple may still be seen at the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, many feet under the present level of the soil. They consist of eight cipollino columns, with an architrave adorned with arabesques, forming part of the pronaos, or vestibule, of the temple. Some remains of the cella are also extant. The columns are of a fine style of art. Antoninus Pius probably also built the HADRIANUM,[1] or Temple of Hadrian, in the Campus Martius, and the BASILICA MATIDIÆ, erected in honour of Hadrian's wife. From an anecdote told by Capitolinus, it would appear

[1] *Notitia*, Reg. ix.

that Antoninus inhabited that part of the palace called Domus Tiberiana. He had summoned the philosopher Apollonius from Chalcis, in Eubœa, to undertake the education of his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius. When Apollonius arrived in Rome, the emperor sent for him to the palace; but the philosopher replied that the pupil should come to the master and not the master to the pupil. Antoninus smiled at the philosophic independence of Apollonius, and observed that it had been easier to bring him from Chalcis to Rome than to make him come from his own house to the palace.[1]

Nor did M. Aurelius Antoninus, who succeeded Pius in 161, contribute much to the adornment of Rome; for the TEMPLUM ANTONINI and COLUMNA COCHLIS were erected after his death. Of the temple no vestiges now remain. It has sometimes been supposed that the pillars in the Piazza di Pietra belonged to it; but they are much too far from the column to authorize such a conjecture. It seems more probable that the temple occupied the site of the present Palazzo Chigi. The column, the temple, and the priests who were to administer to the deified emperor, were voted with one accord both by patricians and plebeians after his death.[2] The column, which is in the Piazza Colonna in the Corso, is an imitation of that of Trajan, but in a lower style of art; nor is it in so good a state of preservation. The bas-reliefs represent the wars against the Quadi, Marcomanni, and Sarmatæ. Its height is only a few feet short of Trajan's column. It was originally crowned with a statue of M. Aurelius, replaced by Pope Sixtus V. with that of St. Paul. The original statue is supposed to have been carried off by Constans II.

[1] Capitol. *Ant. Pius*, 10. [2] Aurel. Victor. *De Cæsar.* c. xvi. 13.

When we have named the triumphal arch of M. Aurelius, we have mentioned all the monuments of this emperor that are worth recording. This arch stood in the Corso near the Piazza Fiano, and was in existence till Pope Alexander VII. demolished it in 1662. The bas-reliefs with which it was ornamented may still be seen in the Palazzo de' Conservatori.

The Emperor Commodus, who succeeded M. Aurelius, and reigned from 180-192, made not many additions to the city. According to the *Curiosum*, he built some baths in Regio I.; but their history is obscure. The most remarkable incident in the history of the city during the reign of this emperor is a devastating fire which lasted several days and caused much destruction, especially in the neighbourhood of the Forum. It began in a house near Vespasian's Temple of Peace after a slight shock of earthquake. The temple was burnt down to the impoverishment of many, as it appears to have served as a bank of deposit. Hence the fire spread to the spice warehouses of Domitian, and from them across the Forum to the Palatine. The Temple of Vesta was destroyed, on which occasion the Palladium was for the first time seen by profane eyes: for the Vestal virgins, in order to save it from the flames, bore it along the Sacra Via to the house of the Rex Sacrificulus. A great part of the palace was also destroyed, together with both the libraries and nearly all the documents relating to the Empire. It was on this occasion that Galen's shop on the Sacra Via was burnt down; when, as he tells us himself, he lost some of his works of which there were no other copies in Rome.[1] The fire was at last extinguished by a heavy fall of rain.

[1] Dion Cass. lxxii. 24; Herodian. *Hist.* i. 44; Galen, *De Composi. Medicamen.* i. 1.

This calamity occurred shortly before the end of the reign of Commodus. The three emperors who succeeded him, Pertinax, Didius Julianus, and Pescennius Niger, reigned only about a year, and were followed by Septimius Severus, an emperor who, according to the lights of those times, did much for the adornment of Rome. He appears to have made good the damage occasioned by the fire, and also to have restored the buildings which were falling into decay through the effects of time; retaining upon them the names of their respective founders.[1] Besides rebuilding the palace, he added to it, at the southern extremity of the Palatine, the building called the SEPTIZONIUM. This was extant till the time of Pope Sixtus V. (1585-1590), who caused it to be demolished in order to use the pillars in the Vatican. From views of it taken before that epoch, it appears to have been a sort of portico, having three storeys of columns. According to Spartianus, Severus erected it to serve as a vestibule, or atrium, to the palace, so that his countrymen, on arriving at Rome from Africa by the Via Appia, might have a striking impression of his imperial grandeur.[2] Various etymologies have been given of its name, but none that is satisfactory, nor can its proper destination be explained with certainty.

Another monument of Septimius Severus, which still exists in a good state of preservation, is the TRIUMPHAL ARCH at the top of the Forum. It appears to have been erected in 203, in commemoration of the Parthian and Arabian victories of Severus, and was originally dedicated to him and his two sons, Antoninus, commonly called Caracalla, from a Gaulish cloak with a hood

[1] Spart. *Sever.* 23. [2] *Ibid.* 24.

which he was accustomed to wear, and Geta. But Caracalla, after the murder of his brother, caused his name to be erased from the inscription, and its place to be filled with words in praise of his father and himself. It has three archways; a large one in the middle and two smaller at each side; but all communicating with one another by means of still smaller arches inside. It stands on a platform above the level of the Forum, and the side arches were originally approached by seven steps.[1] The arch shows the decline of architectural taste. It is a heavy structure, especially the attic; and the columns and bas-reliefs exhibit a great falling off since the time of Trajan. From a medal of Antoninus (Caracalla) it appears that on the summit of the arch was a triumphal car drawn by six horses, with two figures in it, representing probably Severus and Caracalla. At each side of the car was a foot-soldier, and at each extremity a horse-soldier.

The little arch close to the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, called Arcus Argentarius, was also erected in honour of Septimius Severus, his sons Antoninus and Geta, and his wife Julia Pia, by the bankers and merchants who transacted business at this spot, as appears from an inscription on its southern face. This arch marks the boundary between the Velabrum and Forum Boarium. It is, however, properly no arch, but a gateway, the lintel being horizontal. The principal subject of the ill-executed sculptures upon it is a sacrifice.

Septimius Severus is supposed to have constructed an aqueduct, the Aqua Severiana, for the service of some baths, the Thermæ Severianæ, which he built in the first region, or Porta Capena;[2] but we have no authen-

[1] Nibby, *Roma, &c.* t. ii. p. 477.

[2] Spart. *Sever.* 19.

tic accounts about either. Severus, who spent his money as liberally as he sought it greedily, was in the habit of presenting his friends with palaces. Among these were the Domus Laterani on the Cælian Hill, and the Domus Septem Parthorum, which lay in the district to the south of it[1] The former of these buildings had been the property of the consul Plautius Lateranus, who was put to death for his participation in Piso's conspiracy against Nero.[2] His property appears to have been confiscated; and, the palace having thus become an imperial heirloom, Severus was able to present it to a descendant probably of the same family. Juvenal insinuates that the wealth of Lateranus was the cause of his destruction, and at the same time intimates the magnificence of his palace:

> Temporibus diris igitur, jussuque Neronis,
> Longinum et magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos
> Clausit et egregias Lateranorum obsidet ædes
> Tota cohors; rarus venit in cœnacula miles.[3]

But there can be no doubt, from the account of Tacitus, that Lateranus was really implicated in Piso's conspiracy. We shall have again to advert to this palace under the reign of Constantine, when by a rare fate it became one of the most distinguished edifices of modern Rome. The Domus Parthorum we know from its being mentioned in the *Notitia* in the twelfth region, or Piscina Publica, as well as by Victor. It may probably have been the residence of some Parthian nobles whom Severus brought with him to Rome after his eastern conquests. Their effeminate habits have been stigmatized by Tertullian.[4] The Domus Cilonis, also men-

[1] Aur. Victor, *Epit.* 20.
[2] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 49, 60.
[3] *Sat.* x. 15 sqq.
[4] *De cultu fem.* i. 6.

tioned in the twelfth region, might have been another of these palaces, probably belonging to Kilo, the friend of Severus and tutor of his sons, who had been Præfectus Urbi under him. Caracalla sent some soldiers to murder him; who, after plundering his house, dragged him almost naked—for they had taken him in the bath—along the Sacra Via towards the palace. But his condition excited the commiseration of the people and of the civic guard, formerly under his orders; which so alarmed Caracalla that he thought it prudent to rescue Kilo, and even to display a hypocritical affection for him.[1]

When we have mentioned the MAUSOLEUM of Septimius Severus, we have named all the monuments of this emperor that are of any importance. This has been sometimes confounded with the Septizonium already described; and, indeed, it appears to have been an imitation of it on a minor scale, and situated on the Via Appia. Severus caused it to be built in his lifetime.[2]

Caracalla succeeded his father in 211. This murderer and fratricide was fond of building. He was a particular devotee of the goddess Isis, to whom he is said to have erected several temples; but the only one we can mention, and that only on conjecture, is the ISIUM alluded to by Trebellius Pollio on the Cælian.[3] His greatest work was his baths, the THERMÆ ANTONINIANÆ, or CARACALLÆ, situated on the right-hand side of the Via di Porta S. Sebastiano, anciently the Via Appia, near the church of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo. The remains of them are the most perfect of any of the Roman baths, and cover so enormous an area as to fill

[1] Dion Cass. lxxvii. 4; cf. Spartian, *Carac.* 3.
[2] Spartian, *Geta*, 7.
[3] *Trig. Tyrr.* 25; cf. Spart. *Car.* 9.

the spectator with astonishment. The unsupported roof of the Cella Soliaris, or warm bath, was of such vast extent that the architects and mechanicians of the time of Constantine declared that it could not be imitated.[1] The porticoes which surrounded the baths were added by Heliogabalus, and completed by Alexander Severus. The building now formed a perfect square of 1,100 feet on every side, without reckoning the projections of the circular tribunes. To supply the baths, Caracalla is said to have formed the aqueduct called AQUA ANTONINIANA, of which, however, there is no satisfactory account; and as an approach to them he caused to be made the VIA NOVA, one of the handsomest streets in Rome.[2]

Caracalla died in 217, and was succeeded, after the brief reigns of Macrinus and Diadumenus, by Elagabalus, in 218. To this emperor are attributed a CIRCUS and gardens near the AMPHITHEATRUM CASTRENSE and present church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. It is impossible to say by whom the amphitheatre just mentioned was constructed; but some antiquaries infer from the style of the building that it was earlier than the Colosseum, and refer it to the reign of Tiberius, or at latest of Nero.[3] Elagabalus, or Heliogabalus, dedicated on the Palatine a temple to his namesake, the Syrian sun-god, and opened there a public bath which appears to have been worse than a brothel.[4]

Alexander Severus, who obtained the imperial crown

[1] Spartian. *Carac.* 9; *Sever.* 21. By *cella soliaris* Spartian appears to mean the apartment for the warm bath, called *solium* by Cicero, *In Pison.* 27.

[2] Victor, *De Cæs.* xxi.; Spart. *loc. cit.*

[3] Nibby, *Roma nell' anno* 1838, t. i. p. 397 sq.

[4] Lampr. *Heliogab.* c. 8.

after the assassination of this despicable tyrant in 222, enriched the city with a few structures, but none of them of much importance. He constructed an aqueduct, the AQUA ALEXANDRINA, identical with the present Aqua Felice, for the service of some baths which he had built;[1] and he erected a *diœta*, or sort of casino, which he dedicated to his mother, Julia Mammæa, whence its name of AD MAMMAM. He is said also to have paved some of the streets upon the Palatine with porphyry and verde antico; in which he followed the example of Elagabalus.[2]

From the time of Alexander Severus to the accession of Aurelian in 270, we find few notices of any interest respecting the city, and indeed it would be wearisome to recount every minor alteration that took place in these declining days of Roman splendour. The celebration of the secular games for the thousandth anniversary of the city by the Emperor Philippus the Arab (244-249) deserves, both for its singularity and for the occasion, a passing word of notice. A large collection of rare animals, procured by the younger Gordian for his triumph, was exhibited at this festival. The zebra, the elk, the giraffe, the ostrich, and other strange animals were then seen for the first time by the great majority of the Roman people, mixed with elephants, African hyænas, and Indian tigers.[3] From this period there is nothing to detain us till the reign of Aurelian; though we may mention by the way the ARCH OF GALLIENUS, which is still extant close to the church of S. Vito and at no great distance from Sta. Maria Maggiore. The inscription shows it to have been dedicated to Gallienus and his consort Salonina. It has been

[1] Lamprid. *Alex. Sever.* 25. [2] *Ibid.* and c. 26.
[3] Capitol. *Gordiani Tres*, c. 33.

thought to occupy the site of the Porta Esquilina of the Servian wall, and at all events it could not have been far distant from that gate.

The time was now at hand when the Romans, who had hitherto thought only of extending or securing their conquests over the greater part of the known world, would have to fight for their own existence. In the year 259, in the reign of Gallienus, the Alemanni had invaded Italy and appeared almost in sight of Rome; and again in 270 vast hordes of them, having eluded the vigilance of Aurelian, once more crossed the Alps and penetrated into Umbria. In a great battle fought at Placentia, the balance of victory appeared to incline in favour of the barbarians; but Aurelian succeeded in defeating them at Fanum Fortunæ, and in almost exterminating their host in a third battle near Pavia. These dangers admonished him of the necessity of providing for the safety of the capital. The Servian walls had not only been long overstepped by the growing suburbs of the city, but even every trace of them had almost entirely vanished; and Rome, with all her temples and treasures, the portentous growth of ten centuries of conquest and empire, appeared to lie at the mercy of any barbarians who might be attracted by the fame of her wealth and her widespread renown. In the contemplation of such a calamity, Aurelian determined to surround the city with a new and more extensive wall.

This wall, begun by Aurelian and completed by Probus, was repaired by Honorius, and appears to have been identical in position with that by which Rome is still surrounded. In naming the gates, we use the names of those in the wall as repaired by Honorius; for though it is probable that many of these bore the

same names in the time of Aurelian, yet this is not certain, except with regard to one of them, the Porta Ostiensis; through which, as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus,[1] was conveyed the obelisk which Constantius caused to be erected in the Circus Maximus.

The northernmost gate of the Aurelian wall was the PORTA FLAMINIA, spanning the road of the same name. It stood near the present Porta del Popolo, but a little to the east of it, and apparently on the descent of the Pincian Hill; since its situation is described by Procopius as somewhat steep and difficult of access.[2] This gate must, however, have been removed to the site of the Porta del Popolo before the pontificate of Gregory II. (715-731), since Anastasius, in his life of that pope, describes it as being exposed to inundations of the Tiber.[3] Yet it appears to have retained the name of Flaminia down at least to the fifteenth century, as it is so called in a life of Pope Martin V.[4]

The next gate to the Flaminia, proceeding to the east, or right, was the PORTA PINCIANA, which must be represented by the present gate of the same name. Again, towards the east, we come to the PORTA SALARIA, still called Porta Salara, at the top of the Via di Porta Salara. It seems probable that a corruption of this name may have given rise to that of PORTA BELISARIA, which occurs once or twice in Procopius.[5] The next gate, proceeding always in the same direction, was the PORTA NOMENTANA, spanning, as its name implies, the Via Nomentana. Pope Pius IV. substituted for it in 1564 the present Porta Pia; on issuing from which is

[1] xvii. 4, § 14.
[2] *Bell. Goth.* i. 23.
[3] Nibby, *Roma, &c.* t. i. p. 138.
[4] Ap. Muratori, *Scripp. Rer. Ital.* t. iii. pt. ii. col. 864.
[5] See Urlichs, in *Class. Mus.* vol. iii. p. 196.

seen the site of the ancient gate, marked by two towers at a little distance on the right.

From this point the wall proceeded to enclose the Prætorian Camp, trending thence in a southern direction to the PORTA TIBURTINA, in all probability the modern S. Lorenzo. In the camp itself were four gates, which, however, cannot properly be said to belong to the city: namely, two *Portæ Principales* at the northern and southern sides, the *Porta Decumana* on the eastern side, and the *Porta Prætoria* on the western. Thus the last, which in field camps faced the enemy, here faced the city; an unmistakable indication of the purpose which the Prætorian Camp was intended to serve. Close under the south side of the camp was a gate spanning the road which issued from the Porta Viminalis of the Servian walls; but which appears to have been walled up at a very early period, and is hence called PORTA CLAUSA. Over the Porta Tiburtina, or S. Lorenzo, as well as over two or three more gates, is an inscription recording the restoration of the walls by Arcadius and Honorius. The gate is formed by an arch of the Aquæ Marcia, Tepula, and Julia, which flow one over the other in different ducts.

The PORTA PRÆNESTINA, now Porta Maggiore, the next gate in succession, is likewise formed of a double arch of the Aqua Claudia and Anio Vetus, which flow over it. This gate has the same inscription as that on the Porta Tiburtina. Its modern name is said to be derived from its leading to the Basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore. It seems also to have been called Porta della Donna, that is, of the Madonna, as appears from a diary of the fifteenth century published by Muratori.[1]

[1] *Rer. Ital. Scriptt. ap. Nibby, Roma, &c.* t. i. p. 146.

Just outside the gate, on the left-hand side, is the curious monument of Eurysaces, the baker. Here also was a vivarium for keeping the wild beasts used in the public spectacles. From this point the wall follows for some distance the line of the Aqua Claudia in a south-easterly direction; then, describing an acute angle, trends to the south-west, and, embracing the Amphitheatrum Castrense, proceeds in this direction as far as the Piazza Ferratella. In this length of wall was the Porta Asinaria, which spanned the road of that name, but which is now superseded by the Porta S. Giovanni, built by Pope Gregory XIII. a little to the east of it. The modern name is of course derived from St. John Lateran, near which the gate stands; and in like manner the ancient gate was called in the middle ages Lateranensis. Just beyond it are vast substructions supposed to have belonged to the house of Plautius Lateranus.

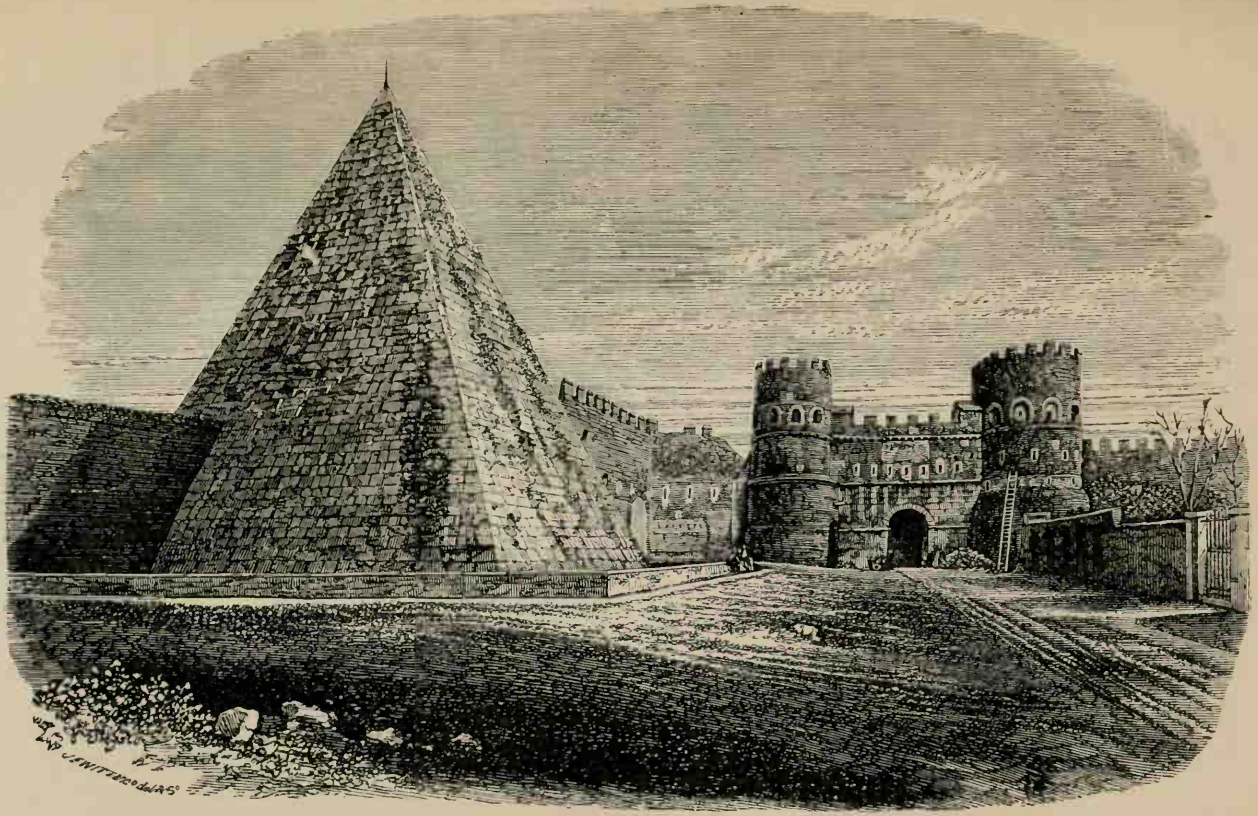
At the angle formed by the walls at the Piazza Ferratella was also a gate supposed to be that called Porta Metronis by St. Gregory the Great in one of his epistles; but its origin, and even the proper spelling of its name, are uncertain. Hence the wall takes a southerly direction till it reaches the Porta Latina, and a little further on the Porta Appia, standing over the roads so called, which, as we have seen, diverged shortly after the Appia had issued from the ancient Porta Capena. The Porta Latina is closed, and the Porta Appia has now become the Porta di S. Sebastiano, from the celebrated church which stands some way beyond it.

The wall now proceeds for a considerable space nearly due west till it reaches the Porta Ostiensis. After the building of the famous Basilica of St. Paul this gate was called Porta di S. Paolo, an appellation which, as we see from Procopius, it obtained as early as the sixth

century, the Basilica having been founded by Valentinian II. and Theodosius. Close to it, built into the wall, is the PYRAMID OF CESTIUS, a tomb of the republican period, but thought in the middle ages to be the sepulchre of Remus. Hence the wall ran to the river, so as to include Monte Testaccio, northwards up its bank to a point opposite that where the wall of the Janiculum also reached the Tiber.

On the right bank of the river the wall ascended to the height of the Janiculum where stood the PORTA AURELIA, now Porta S. Pancrazio. Close to the Tiber was the PORTA PORTUENSIS, having the same inscription which may be seen over the Tiburtina. This gate was demolished by Urban VIII., who built in its stead the Porta Portese. The Porta Aurelia, so called from the Via Aurelia, obtained in the middle ages the name of Aurea, by which it is mentioned in the *Mirabilia Romæ*, written about the twelfth century; but it seems also to have been called S. Pancratius in the time of Procopius. The Janiculum, from the colour of its sand, was vulgarly called Mons Aureus, whence the present name of Montorio. From the Porta Aurelia the wall again descended to the river, which it appears to have reached near, or a little above, the present Ponte Sisto. We know not certainly of any gate in this tract, though one called Septimiana is mentioned.

From the Ponte Sisto the wall appears to have run along the left bank of the Tiber till it arrived parallel with the Porta Flaminia, which it joined; but no remains of it are now visible in this part. In this tract we find only one gate, that called by Procopius, to all appearance erroneously, Porta Aurelia, standing on the left bank of the river, at the entrance of the Pons Ælius, leading to the Mole of Hadrian. There could hardly



TOMB OF C. CESTIUS AND PORTA DI SAN PAOLO.

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have been two gates called Aurelia. We find it called in the *Mirabilia*, "Porta Collina ad Castellum Adriani;" and it is mentioned by the same name in the *Ordo Romanus* of the Canonicus Benedetto published by Mabillon.[1] But this also must have been a confusion of names. It appears to have been also called Porta S. Petri as early as the time of Procopius, who mentions it under that apellation.[2] The Aurelian wall was fortified with battlements and towers, between which arcades, or covered ways, afforded secure communication. There are still some remains of these arcades, especially at the Porta S. Sebastiano.

During the reign of Aurelian the ancient glories of Rome seemed for a while to revive. For his numerous victories in various lands he celebrated in 274 as magnificent a triumph as any that Rome had hitherto beheld. It has been described by Vopiscus;[3] but we shall here insert the description of it by Gibbon, after that author:

"The pomp was opened by twenty elephants, four royal tigers, and above two hundred of the most curious animals from every climate of the north, the east, and the south. They were followed by sixteen hundred gladiators, devoted to the cruel amusement of the amphitheatre. The wealth of Asia, the arms and ensigns of so many conquered nations, and the magnificent plate and wardrobe of the Syrian queen, were disposed in exact symmetry or artful disorder. The ambassadors of the most remote parts of the earth, of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, Bactriana, India, and China, all remarkable by their rich or singular dresses, displayed the fame and power of the Roman emperor, who exposed

[1] *Musæum Ital.* t. ii. p. 143.
[2] *B. G.* i. 19. [3] *Aurel.* c. 33.

likewise to the public view the presents that he had received, and particularly a great number of crowns of gold, the offerings of grateful cities. The victories of Aurelian were attested by the long train of captives who reluctantly attended his triumph—Goths, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alemanni, Franks, Gauls, Syrians, and Egyptians. Each people was distinguished by its peculiar inscription, and the title of Amazons was bestowed on ten martial heroines of the Gothic nation who had been taken in arms. But every eye, disregarding the crowd of captives, was fixed on the Emperor Tetricus, and the Queen of the East. The former, as well as his son, whom he had created Augustus, was dressed in Gallic trousers, a saffron tunic, and a robe of purple. The beauteous figure of Zenobia was confined by fetters of gold; a slave supported the gold chain which encircled her neck, and she almost fainted under the intolerable weight of jewels. She preceded on foot the magnificent chariot in which she once hoped to enter the gates of Rome. It was followed by two other chariots, still more sumptuous, of Odenathus and of the Persian monarch. The triumphal car of Aurelian (it had formerly been used by a Gothic king) was drawn, on this memorable occasion, either by four stags or by four elephants. The most illustrious of the senate, the people, and the army closed the solemn procession. Unfeigned joy, wonder, and gratitude swelled the acclamations of the multitude; but the satisfaction of the senate was clouded by the appearance of Tetricus; nor could they suppress a rising murmur that the haughty emperor should thus expose to public ignominy the person of a Roman and a magistrate.

"But however in the treatment of his unfortunate rivals Aurelian might indulge his pride, he behaved

towards them with a generous clemency, which was seldom exercised by the ancient conquerors. Princes who without success had defended their throne or freedom, were frequently strangled in prison as soon as the triumphal pomp ascended the Capitol. These usurpers, whom their defeat had convicted of the crime of treason, were permitted to spend their lives in affluence and honourable repose. The emperor presented Zenobia with an elegant villa at Tibur or Tivoli, about twenty miles from the capital; the Syrian queen insensibly sank into a Roman matron, her daughters married into noble families, and her race was not yet extinct in the fifth century. Tetricus and his son were reinstated in their rank and fortunes. They erected on the Cælian Hill a magnificent palace, and as soon as it was finished invited Aurelian to supper. On his entrance he was agreeably surprised with a picture which represented their singular history. They were delineated offering to the emperor a civic crown and the sceptre of Gaul, and again receiving at his hands the ornaments of the senatorial dignity. The father was afterwards invested with the government of Lucania, and Aurelian, who soon admitted the abdicated monarch to his friendship and conversation, familiarly asked him whether it was not more desirable to administer a province of Italy than to reign beyond the Alps. The son long continued a respectable member of the senate; nor was there any one of the Roman nobility more esteemed by Aurelian, as well as by his successors.

"So long and so various was the pomp of Aurelian's triumph, that, although it opened with the dawn of day, the slow majesty of the procession ascended not the Capitol before the ninth hour; and it was already dark when the emperor returned to the palace. The festival

was protracted by theatrical representations, the games of the circus, the hunting of wild beasts, combats of gladiators, and naval engagements. Liberal donatives were distributed to the army and people, and several institutions, agreeable or beneficial to the city, contributed to perpetuate the glory of Aurelian. A considerable portion of his oriental spoils was consecrated to the gods of Rome; the Capitol, and every other temple, glittered with the offerings of his ostentatious piety; and the Temple of the Sun alone received above fifteen thousand pounds of gold. This last was a magnificent structure, erected by the emperor on the side of the Quirinal Hill, and dedicated, soon after the triumph, to that deity whom Aurelian adored as the parent of his life and fortunes. His mother had been an inferior priestess in a chapel of the Sun; a peculiar devotion to the god of light was a sentiment which the fortunate peasant imbibed in his infancy; and every step of his elevation, every victory of his reign, fortified superstition by gratitude."[1]

The site of Aurelian's TEMPLE OF THE SUN has been the subject of much dispute among topographers; but we think there can be little doubt that Gibbon has properly placed it, and it may very probably be identified with the remains of a large building in the Colonna gardens. For the reasons which have led the author to this conclusion, the reader is referred to Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii. p. 830 sq.

During this period the public spectacles at least, and the sports of the Circus and amphitheatre, betrayed no symptoms of the declining state of the Empire. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the games exhibited

[1] *Decline and Fall*, ch. xi.

by Probus. The Circus was transformed into the likeness of a forest by the transplanting of a large quantity of full-grown trees, and thousands of ostriches, stags, and wild boars, having been let loose in it, were abandoned to be chased by the populace. On the following day was given a *venatio*, in which many hundreds of lions, tigers, and bears were killed.[1] The third day was devoted to the slaughter of the nobler animal, man, and three hundred pairs of gladiators displayed their ferocity and skill. The spectacles exhibited in the Flavian amphitheatre at this period were perhaps still more magnificent, and in the reign of Carinus appear to have exceeded anything before remembered. We cannot better present an idea of them to the reader than in the words of the eloquent historian whom we have already quoted. "The slopes of the vast concave which formed the inside were filled and surrounded with sixty or eighty rows of seats, of marble likewise, covered with cushions, and capable of receiving with ease above four-score thousand spectators. Sixty-four *vomitories* (for by that name the doors were very aptly distinguished) poured forth the immense multitude; and the entrances, passages, and staircases were contrived with such exquisite skill, that each person, whether of the senatorial, the equestrian, or the plebeian order, arrived at his destined place without trouble or confusion. Nothing was omitted which, in any respect, could be subservient to the convenience and pleasure of the spectators. They were protected from the sun and rain by an ample canopy, occasionally drawn over their heads. The air was continually refreshed by the playing of fountains, and profusely impregnated by the grateful scent of aromatics. In the

[1] Vopiscus, *Prob.* c. 19.

centre of the edifice, the *arena*, or stage, was strewed with the finest sand, and successively assumed the most different forms. At one moment it seemed to rise out of the earth, like the garden of the Hesperides, and was afterwards broken into the rocks and caverns of Thrace. The subterraneous pipes conveyed an inexhaustible supply of water, and what had just before appeared a level plain might be suddenly converted into a wide lake, covered with armed vessels, and replenished with the monsters of the deep. In the decoration of these scenes, the Roman emperors displayed their wealth and liberality; and we read on various occasions that the whole furniture of the amphitheatre consisted either of silver, or of gold, or of amber. The poet who describes the games of Carinus, in the character of a shepherd attracted to the capital by the fame of their magnificence, affirms that the nets designed as a defence against the wild beasts were of gold wire; that the porticoes were gilded; and that the *belt*, or circle, which divided the several ranks of spectators from each other, was studded with a precious mosaic of beautiful stones." [1]

[1] Gibbon. *Decline and Fall*, ch. xii. The poet alluded to is Calpurnius, *Eclog.* 7. It is, indeed, far from certain that, as Gibbon assumes, Calpurnius was contemporary with Carinus. Some critics, as Sarpe (*Quæst. Philol.* Rostock, 1819, p. 11 sqq.), who is followed by Weber in his edition of the Latin poets, with that love of paradox and hardihood of assertion which characterize German critics, have even placed him in the reign of Nero. But the Flavian amphitheatre, which is certainly described in the 7th Eclogue, as is plain from its situation among the hills (v. 32), was not then built; and as the citizen who converses with Corydon was an old man, the time of the poem must necessarily be placed at earliest fifty years after Titus, or A.D. 130. On the other hand, we know from Vopiscus that Carinus celebrated some fantastically splendid games; and Calpurnius' line, "quæ patula *juvenis deus* edit arena" (ver. 6), agrees with the age of Carinus.

Such were the spectacles with which an enslaved and degenerate people consoled themselves for the loss of liberty; but, whatever may have been their gorgeousness and grandeur, they are far indeed removed from the interest and sublimity which environ the earlier and simpler scenes of Roman history.

The reign of Diocletian, the successor of Carinus, gave the first decisive blow to the predominance of the city, and in a few more years the capital of the world was to be transferred to the shores of the Bosphorus. In the incipient collapse of the empire, Rome appeared to be too far removed from the frontiers. Diocletian and Maximian, his associate in the empire, chose respectively Nicomedia in Bithynia and Mediolanum in Gallia Cisalpina for their residences, which, by their embellishments, seemed to grow into new capitals. The continued absence of Diocletian from Rome not only occasioned its splendour to decay, but also struck a deadly blow at the power and authority of the senate, who ceased to be consulted on the affairs of the Empire. Nearly twenty years of his reign had elapsed before Diocletian visited for the first time the Roman capital, when he celebrated a triumph which, though not precisely the last, as Gibbon says,[1] was among the last which that city beheld (A.D. 302). His stay at Rome did not exceed two months, and shortly afterwards he abdicated the imperial throne and retired to Salona. Yet during this short visit he founded the THERMÆ DIOCLETIANÆ, the largest and most splendid of the baths hitherto erected at Rome. They are said by Olympiodorus to have contained twice the number of seats for bathers of those of Caracalla, which had sixteen hundred. To confer

[1] *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii. p. 89.

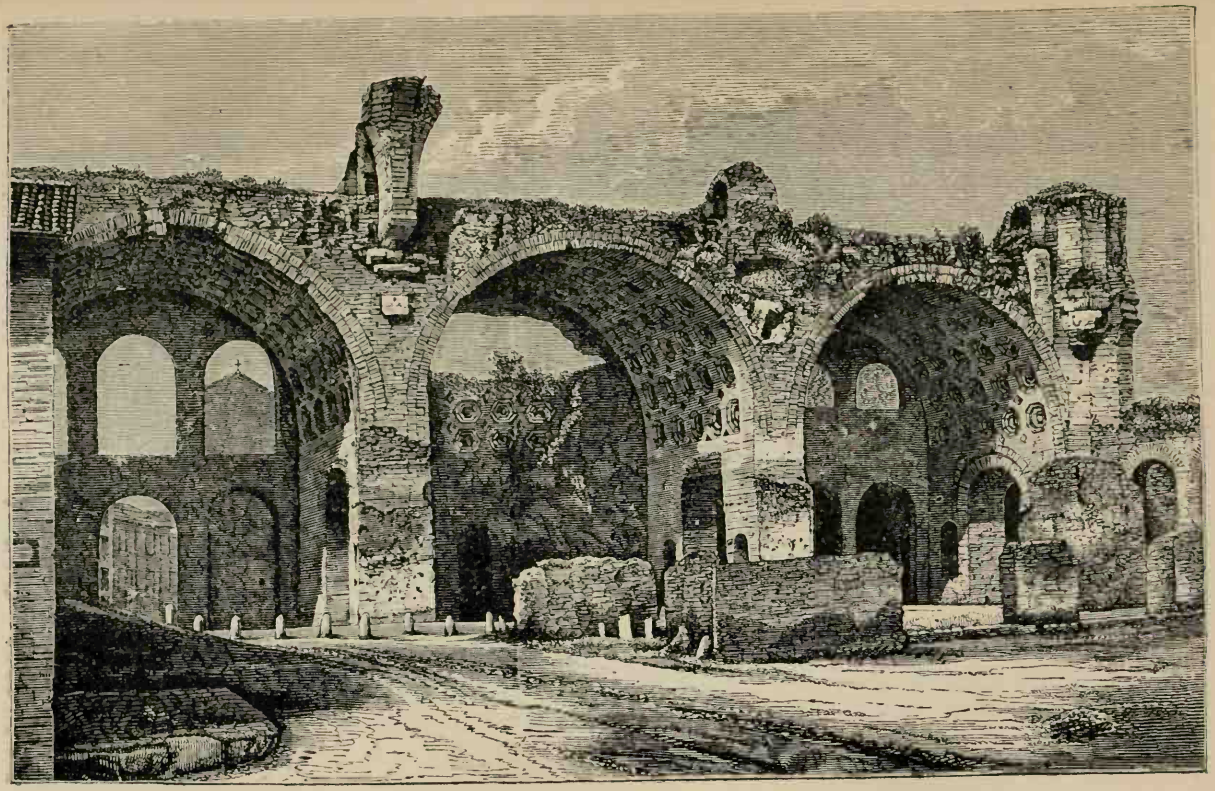
an additional attraction upon them, the Bibliotheca Ulpia was transferred thither from the Forum of Trajan.[1] They were situated on the Quirinal Hill, close to the western side of the Servian agger, and their length occupied the greater part of the space between the Porta Collina and the Porta Viminalis. Their remains, being in a more frequented part of the town than the Thermæ Antoninianæ, have not been so well preserved, and the general plan of them can no longer be traced. But the tepidarium, with its vast unsupported roof, still forms the magnificent Carthusian church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli; to which purpose it was converted by Michael Angelo Buonarotti in the pontificate of Pius IV. The baths of Diocletian, Nero, and Agrippa were in use in the middle of the fifth century, as appears from a poem of Sidonius:

> Hinc ad balnea non Neroniana
> Nec quæ Agrippa dedit, vel ille cujus
> Bustum Dalmaticæ vident Salonæ:
> Ad thermas tamen ire sed libebat
> Privato bene præbitas pudori.[2]

According to an ancient tradition, the Christians, among the other persecutions which they suffered from Diocletian, were forced to labour at the construction of these baths. Diocletian is also said to have rebuilt the Curia, destroyed in a great fire which happened under his predecessor, Carinus. But heathen Rome was now drawing towards its close. A few more years, and the persecuted Christians were to see their religion become that of the state. The last monuments of pagan Rome were added by Maxentius and Constantine. To the former emperor must be attributed the Basilica Con-

[1] Vopisc. *Prob.* 2.

[2] *Carm.* xxiii. 494 sqq.



THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE.

p. 310.

STANTINI, erected by him,[1] but dedicated after his death by Constantine; of which such vast remains still exist not far from the Colosseum. This Basilica appears to have occupied the site of the spice warehouses of Domitian, the destruction of which in the fire of Commodus we have already related. For a long while the three large arches which remain of it were supposed to have belonged to Vespasian's Temple of Peace, till Nibby, in his work *Del Foro Romano*, gave them their true designation. Maxentius also built the CIRCUS on the Via Appia, about two miles from Rome, near the tomb of Cæcilia Metella.[2] It is still sufficiently preserved to convey to the reader an idea of the arrangements of an ancient circus. A large portion of it was excavated in 1825 at the expense of Duke Torlonia, and under the inspection of Signor Nibby.

Constantine, after defeating Maxentius near the Milvian Bridge, October 28, 312, made his entry into Rome. His victory was recorded, but probably some years afterwards, by the FORNIX CONSTANTINI, the last existing monument of any importance of ancient Rome. This arch, which spans the top of the Via di S. Gregorio, or ancient Via Triumphalis, near the Flavian amphitheatre, the best preserved of all that remain, is a striking proof of the decay of art among the Romans. Not, indeed, the structure itself, which is noble and well proportioned. It is remarked by Raffaelle that architecture was the last art that decayed at Rome, the buildings of the later emperors being as good as those of the first; in

[1] Victor, *De Cæs.* cap. xl. § 26. The account of Victor is confirmed by the finding of a coin bearing the name of Maxentius in the masonry of one of the arches in 1828. *Beschreib. der Stadt Rom.* B. iii. S. 298.

[2] *Catalogus Impp. Viennensis*, t. ii. p. 248.

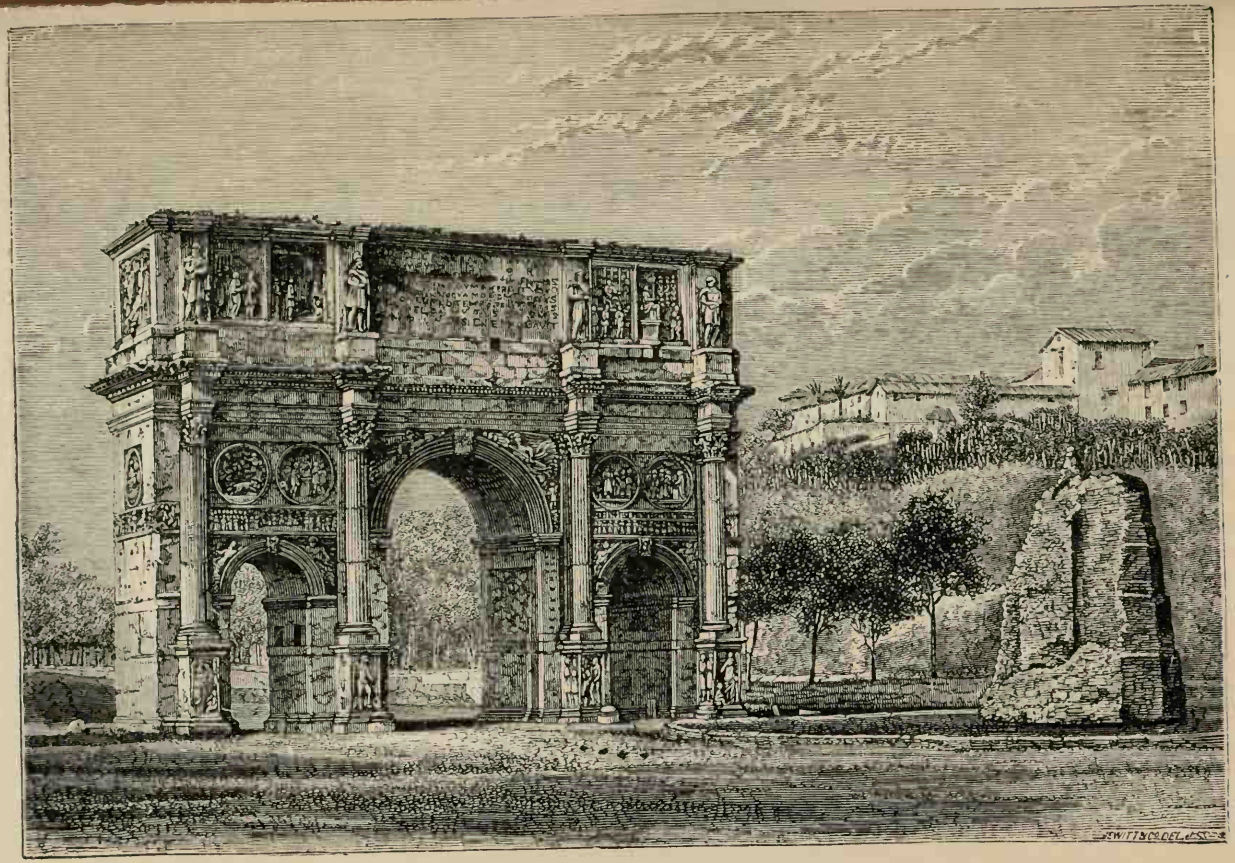
proof of which he mentions this arch and the baths of Diocletian, the architecture of which was also fine, but the paintings and sculptures execrable.[1] The same was the case with this arch, except such parts of it as are composed of spoils taken from some monument of Trajan's. These are the columns, part of the entablature, the statues of the barbarian prisoners, all the bas-reliefs of the attics, and the four medallions on each face. The bas-reliefs on the walls of the middle or greater arch are supposed to belong to the time of Gordian, and all the rest may be attributed to Constantine; namely, those on the pedestals of the columns, the fillet or band over the smaller arches which is carried along the sides, the keystones of the greater arch, the figures over the arches, the medallions at the sides, and the images in the smaller arches.[2] Not only does the style of the bas-reliefs attributed to the age of Trajan prove them to be of that epoch; their subjects also can be referred to events in the history of that emperor. The original inscription on the arch stated that Constantine had triumphed over the tyrant and his party by the favour of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (nutu Jovis O. M.); but these words were subsequently erased, and instead of them were substituted "Instinctu Divinitatis," by the inspiration of the deity.[3]

The large square building called JANUS QUADRIFRONS, near the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, is also referred, with much probability, by Bunsen [4] to the time of Con-

[1] See *Lettere di Castiglione*, p. 149 (ed. Padova, 1796). This letter, though placed among those of Castiglione, is that addressed by Raffaelle to Pope Leo X. respecting the state of Rome and its monuments. See Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.* ch. xxii. It will be found in Passavant, *Vie de Raphael*, 1860, t. i. p. 508 sqq.

[2] Nibby, *Roma, &c.* t. i. p. 445. [3] Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* no. 1075.

[4] *Beschreibung*, Anhang, iii. p. 663.



THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, NORTH SIDE.

THE META SUDANS IN FRONT (*see p.* 273).

stantine. Like the triumphal arch, it seems to have been constructed of the fragments of other buildings, and its architecture is said to resemble the style of the time of that emperor.

Constantine also erected on the Quirinal some baths, the THERMÆ CONSTANTINIANÆ, the last apparently erected at Rome. From the somewhat disparaging way in which they are mentioned by Aurelius Victor,[1] we may conclude that they did not equal in splendour the baths of Diocletian or Caracalla. Some remains of them appear to have been extant in the sixteenth century at the Palazzo Rospigliosi. The colossal figures now on the Quirinal, supposed to be the work of Pheidias, appear to have stood before these baths till they were removed to their present position by Pope Sixtus V.

The period was now arrived when Rome was to experience the two most important revolutions that occur in the whole course of her history. She was to cease to be the capital of the Roman Empire; but, by the establishment of Christianity, she was ultimately to become the capital of the Christian world.

While it was necessary to coerce the city, the military despotism of Augustus and Tiberius had been supported and secured by the establishment of the prætorian guard and camp. But it soon became apparent, and was indeed a necessary consequence of a despotism upheld by force, that the true seat of empire lay not at Rome, but wherever the military power was predominant; and as the extended frontiers of the Empire required large forces to be maintained in the most remote provinces, it

[1] "Opus cæteris haud multo dispar."—*De Cæs.* cap. xl. § 27.

was frequently here that this predominance was to be found. Galba first succeeded, by means of the military command which he held in Gaul, in overthrowing the last representative of the Cæsars and seating himself upon the imperial throne. From this period the Empire was frequently obtained by the successful rebellion of a victorious general, and a peaceful or hereditary succession began to form the exception rather than the rule. Under these circumstances the political influence of Rome gradually decayed. The long absence of several of the emperors in the prosecution of their wars served still further to weaken the prestige of the capital. Diocletian, by establishing his residence at Nicomedia, virtually transferred thither the seat of empire, and at length in 330 Constantine the Great, who was almost as much a stranger to Rome as Diocletian had been, solemnly removed his residence and government to Byzantium, on the shores of the Bosphorus, which took from him the name of Constantinople. Although Rome has been called the "eternal city," an opinion had very early prevailed that she was destined to no very protracted period of existence. Julius Cæsar was thought to have contemplated transferring the seat of empire to Troy, its reputed ancient cradle, and a similar scheme appears to have been agitated in the time of Augustus.[1] Constantine is even said to have built the gates of his new city close to the grave of Ajax, where the Grecian ships were stationed, when a dream or vision admonished him to choose another site.[2]

The other innovation of Constantine, the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the state, is of still

[1] See Sueton. *Cæs.* 79; Hor. *Od.* iii. 3.

[2] Zosimus, ii. 30; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 3.

greater importance in the history of the world, and even perhaps of the city whose vicissitudes it is our more humble province to record. For to this cause must be chiefly ascribed, together with the change introduced into the manners and customs of the Romans, the decay of those buildings which had been the chief characteristic and ornament of pagan Rome, and the erection of new ones more in consonance with the altered habits of the citizens. Writers of all parties agree that Constantine, after the celebration of his Vicennalia in 326, confiscated many heathen temples, and transferred them with their revenues to the church. He also caused the doors of the temples to be removed, and the tiles to be stripped from the roofs, that they might sooner fall to decay.[1] It seems probable, however, that these measures were put into execution chiefly in the provinces, and had but little effect at Rome.

The persecution of the Christians by Nero was perhaps only the caprice of a tyrant who wished to divert from himself to an unpopular sect the suspicion of having caused a terrible calamity. But the formal inquisition into the manners of the Christians by such a ruler as Trajan shows that they must have multiplied to such an extent as to have become objects of anxiety and suspicion to the government. It forms no part of our plan to enter into the persecutions suffered by the Christians; but it must be remembered that if they were persecuted by some emperors, they were tolerated, and even favoured, by others. Septimius Severus treated them with marked distinction, retained them in his domestic service, and even employed a Christian as tutor

[1] *Cod. Justin.* i. 5, 1; Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* i. 3; Cedrenus, i. p. 478 (ed. Bonn.); Lasaulx, *Untergang des Hellenismus*, p. 32.

of his son Caracalla; till the increase of their number through his own indulgence inspired him with alarm, and induced him to take some measures to restrain it. These restraints were, however, removed under his immediate successors; and during more than the third of a century, or a whole generation, the Christians enjoyed an unrestricted freedom. Under Alexander Severus they obtained some important privileges; they were allowed to purchase land, to build churches, to choose their ministers, and to exercise their worship in public.[1] It may be inferred, indeed, from some passages of Scripture, that the Christians must have had churches from the earliest period;[2] but secret ones, and at most connived at, not tolerated, by the government. The succeeding emperors down to Diocletian, with the exceptions of Maximin, Decius, and Valerian, were indifferent, if not favourable, to the Christians; and even Diocletian himself for the far greater part of his reign treated them with mildness and toleration, though towards the end of it they were subjected to the most violent persecution which they had yet experienced. But his colleague Galerius, who had been the instigator of this cruelty, repented of it before his death, and published the celebrated Edict of Toleration which gave peace to the Christian church. The long periods of tranquillity enjoyed by the Christians must have been favourable to the increase of their numbers; and we can explain the later persecutions only on the ground that this increase had made them formidable to the state. Nor had they become important by their numbers only, but also by the offices which they filled and the part which they

[1] Lamprid. *Alex. Sever.* c. 49.

[2] See especially St. Paul's *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, xi. 18.

played in public life. Tertullian, who flourished about the middle of the third century, describes them as abounding in the military as well as the civil employments of the state; as being found in the camp as well as in the palace, the senate, and the forum.[1] When, therefore, about three-quarters of a century later, in the year 324, Constantine exhorted all his subjects to follow his example by embracing Christianity, we must presume that the Christian church had become not only very powerful by its numbers, but also very influential through the important posts filled by many of its members.

The nature of the present work, however, confines our attention to the state of the Christians in Rome, of which we shall proceed to give a brief outline.

History does not record the reputed visit of St. Peter to Rome; but it forms one of the traditions of the Romish church. According to Eusebius, the apostle came to Rome in the second year of the Emperor Claudius; but the statement of Lactantius and the *Liber Pontificalis*, by which his visit is placed in the reign of Nero, is more in accordance with probability. It is possible that he may have spent ten years at Rome, A.D. 55-65; and at all events it is probable that he was there in the last year of his life, and that he suffered martydom by crucifixion in the Neronian persecution in the year 65. He was succeeded in the bishopric by Linus.[2] Tradition is equally vague respecting the place of St. Peter's residence at Rome. According to one account, he lived in the house of the Senator Pudens

[1] "Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum; sola vobis relinquimus templa."—*Apol.* c. 37.

[2] Pagi, *Breviar. Gestor. Pont. Rom.* t. i. p. 3 sq.

and his wife Priscilla, situated in the Vicus Patricius, a street running from the Subura through the valley between the Viminal and Esquiline, and represented by the modern streets called Via Urbana and Via Sta. Pudenziana. Here he is said to have established a church or house of prayer, which, from the daughter of Pudens, obtained the name of Pudentiana. At this spot, not far from Sta. Maria Maggiore, a church of this name still exists, and is the first Roman church mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis.* The old mosaics in its tribune are reckoned among the finest in Rome. The neighbouring church of Sta. Prassede seems to have taken its name from the sister of Pudenziana; but though this also appears to have been a very ancient church, as two priests of that title are mentioned in the acts of the Council held by Pope Symmachus in 499, yet there are no definite accounts of its foundation. According to other traditions which have not such an appearance of authenticity, St. Peter took up his abode near the present church of Sta. Cecilia in the Trastevere, A.D. 45. He is also said to have dwelt upon the Aventine with Aquila and Prisca, a Jewish couple that had been converted to Christianity, supposed to have been of the same family as the Aquila and Priscilla, whom St. Paul met at Corinth after the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by the Emperor Claudius.[1]

The visit of St. Paul to Rome, whither he was brought as a prisoner in company with St. Luke, and his dwelling there two years in a house which he had hired, are recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles.* During this period he seems to have been retained in a sort of surveillance, though with liberty to preach and receive his

[1] *Acts*, xviii. 2.

friends. According to tradition, he dwelt in the Via Lata. Beyond this period there is no authentic account of the life of St. Paul; but it is pretty certain that he suffered martyrdom at Rome, and in all probability in company with St. Peter at the time of Nero's persecution. According to a tradition, they were both led forth to execution by the Porta Trigemina, and along the Via Ostiensis; and St. Paul was put to death at a place called Aquæ Salviæ, not far from the magnificent Basilica that bears his name.[1] But St. Peter was conducted back either to the Janiculum, or more probably to Nero's Circus, near the present Basilica of St. Peter, and there crucified; and it is said with his head downwards, agreeably to his own request.

In the early ages of the church, in the midst of these dangers and persecutions, and even down to the middle of the fifth century, the Christians of Rome resorted to large subterranean caverns outside the walls, which served them at once as places of refuge and concealment, as churches wherein to exercise their sacred rites, and as places of interment for their dead. These caverns are now commonly known by the name of CATACOMBS; but in ancient times they were also called *Areæ*, *Cryptæ*, and *Cœmeteria*. According to the most general opinion, which is also that of Bosio and his editor Aringhi,[2] these catacombs were constructed by the Christians in the sandpits, or galleries, called *arenariæ*, or *arenifodinæ*, excavated by the pagan Romans for the purpose of procuring building materials. That such excavations existed we know from the testimony of classical writers. Cicero mentions some *arenari* outside the Porta Esquilina;[3] and Suetonius, in relating the

[1] Aringhi, *Roma Subterr.* lib. iii. c. 2.

[2] *Ibid.* lib. i. c. 1.

[3] *Pro Cluent.* 13.

death of Nero, describes how Phaon exhorted him to enter a cavern formed by excavating the sand.[1] The Cavaliere de Rossi has recently treated this subject in a large and learned publication.[2] In a dissertation by his brother, Michele Stefano de Rossi, entitled *Analisi Geologica ed Architettonica*, which the Cavaliere has annexed to his work, it is laid down that the catacombs, with very trifling exceptions, are entirely the work of the Christians.[3] Into this subject, on which volumes might be written, we shall not enter; and those readers who are curious on the subject are therefore referred to the work just mentioned. It should, however, be stated that one of the results of Cavaliere de Rossi's investigations is to transfer the catacombs of S. Calixtus from the church of S. Sebastian, where they are commonly placed, to a spot rather nearer Rome between the Via Appia and Via Ardeatina.[4]

We have already adverted, when describing the persecution of Nero, to the hatred with which the Christians were regarded by the Roman populace. During two or three centuries they were considered as the proper expiatory victims of any public calamity; and on such occasions their death was clamorously demanded by the people assembled in the theatres. A still

[1] *Ner.* 48.

[2] *La Roma sotteranea Christiana*, descritta ed illustrata dal Cav. G. B. de Rossi, tom. i. Roma, 1864.

[3] "I cemeteri sotteranei di Roma sono stati scavati dai cristiani fossori tranne pochissime eccezioni, le quali importanti per la storia, nell' ampiezza però della sotteranea escavazione scompajono; e possono veramente dirsi quello, che i matematici appellano una quantità infinitesima e da non essere tenuta a calcolo."—App. p. 39. Two of the catacombs are Jewish.

[4] *Roma sott. Christ.* p. 250.

worse fate was invoked upon the Christian virgins.[1] A conspicuous martyr among these inhuman sacrifices was Ignatius, bishop of Syria, who by command of Trajan was thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre during the festival of the Saturnalia. Yet in spite of these persecutions the church continued to flourish at Rome. The number of Christians there in the middle of the third century has been estimated, from an authentic statement of the number of their clergy, at about 50,000.[2] Christian Rome is said to have been divided so early as the reign of Domitian into seven parishes, but only in order to write the history of the martyrs. Euaristus, who was bishop of Rome in the time of Trajan, is supposed to have first adapted these divisions to ecclesiastical purposes by appointing seven priests and seven deacons.[3] Churches are said to have been built at Rome in the third century, but nothing is certain before the time of Constantine.

The first ecclesiastical architects could not, on religious grounds, take the heathen temples for their models, and they therefore resorted to the civil buildings of the Romans, and especially the Basilicæ; which also from their structure were better adapted to Christian worship. The seven primeval churches of Rome, said to have been founded by Constantine, are of this description: namely, that of the Lateran, the Vatican, S. Paolo fuori le Mura, Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, Sta. Agnese out-

[1] "Si Tyberis ascendit ad mœnia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si cœlum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim, 'Christianos ad leonem!'"—Tertull. *Apol.* c. 40. An alliterative cry, which probably afforded much amusement to those brutal minds, was: "Virgines ad lenonem!"—*Ibid.* 48 sub fin.

[2] Eusebius, ap. Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 211 (Smith's ed.).

[3] Anastasius, *in Vitis Clementis et Euaristi.*

side the Porta Nomentana (or Porta Pia), S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura (about half a mile outside the Porta S. Lorenzo), and SS. Petrus et Marcellinus outside the Porta Maggiore. But it is very doubtful whether Constantine founded all these churches. When the origin of a church was lost in remote antiquity, it was convenient to refer it to the first Christian emperor; but the only one that can be ascribed to him with certainty is that of the Lateran. His consort Fausta possessed the palace of the Laterani on the Cælian, a family which we have already had occasion to mention; and it is believed that Constantine gave that part of it more particularly called Domus Faustæ to the bishop of Rome for a dwelling. It is also thought that at the request of Pope Sylvester he erected there a Basilica dedicated to the Saviour and consecrated it in 319. This church has always been regarded as the first in dignity not only in Rome but in all the world, and is hence entitled *Sacrosancta lateranensis ecclesia, omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput.* It retained its name of Salvatore, or the Saviour, till 1144; when, Pope Lucius II. having added the worship of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, it thenceforth obtained the name of Basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano.

It forms no part of our plan to describe the Roman churches; but as the seven before enumerated were regarded with a peculiar veneration, we shall here briefly record the origin of the remainder of them.[1]

The Basilica of S. Pietro in Vaticano, which may now be said to have virtually eclipsed the mother-church of the Roman bishopric in the Lateran, was at first inferior

[1] A principal authority respecting the churches erected by Constantine is Ciampini, *De sacris ædificiis a Constantino Magno extructis.*

to it, nor is its origin so authentically attested. It is affirmed that the body of St. Peter was interred after his martyrdom in the Christian cemetery in the Vatican, and that Anacletus, the fourth bishop of Rome, erected over his tomb a chapel or oratory. This chapel is said to have been converted by Constantine into a church, or Basilica, in honour of St. Peter, which was dedicated by Pope Sylvester in 324. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, the Basilica was built on the site of a temple of Apollo. This temple is only legendary; but when the Basilica was rebuilt at the beginning of the sixteenth century, inscriptions were dug up relating to the *Taurobolia* and *Kriobolia*, showing that the worship of Cybele had formerly been celebrated here. This worship, in all its repulsive forms, maintained itself the longest at Rome; and Prudentius, who flourished in the latter half of the fourth century, has described in his Hymn to S. Romanus the horrible sacrifices with which it was attended. The latest of the inscriptions referred to appears to belong to the year 390;[1] a fact which seems to militate very strongly against the possibility of the Basilica having been founded by Constantine. The original Basilica remained in existence more than eleven centuries, when Pope Nicholas V. conceived the idea of erecting a new one. Little, however, was done till the time of Julius II., who laid the first stone of the new edifice in 1506. It was to be constructed after the plans of Bramante, but many alterations were made in it by succeeding popes. Leo X. proceeded with the building with the assistance of Giuliano Giamberti, Giocondo da Verona, and especially of Raffaelle Sanzio; after whose death in 1520 the work was intrusted to Baldassare

[1] See Beugnot, *Hist. de la Destruction du Paganisme*, t. i. p. 159, note.

Peruzzi. Pope Paul III. having ascended the papal chair called in Michelangiolo, who continued to direct the building under his three successors, Julius III., Marcellus II., and Paul IV. The Basilica, however, still underwent many alterations, and was not completely finished till the Pontificate of Pius VI. (1775-1800) Paul V. (Borghese), who ascended the papal throne in 1605, wishing to include all the parts of the ancient Basilica in the new one, intrusted the work to Carlo Maderno. This architect, whose labours were completed by Bernini, converted the Greek cross of the Basilica into a Latin one by lengthening the nave, and added the present portico and façade. The effect of these alterations has been most unfortunate. Besides other architectural defects of detail, the two following are most injurious to the general appearance of the Basilica: the drum of the cupola cannot be seen even from the furthest extremity of the Piazza, while on entering, instead of being struck by the majesty of the cupola, one perceives only a sort of gash in the roof.[1] These defects are at once obvious even to the unprofessional beholder, and require no architectural knowledge to be condemned.

S. Paolo *fuori le Mura*, or *sulla Via Ostiense*, was erected in honour of the fellow-martyr of St. Peter. The tradition respecting the origin of this Basilica is precisely similar to that regarding St. Peter's; namely, that Anacletus erected an oratorium over Paul's sepulchre, which at the request of Sylvester was converted into a church by Constantine, an. 324. Valentinian II. began to rebuild it in 386, and the new edifice was completed by his successor Honorius. Some of the pillars which adorned it are said to have been taken

[1] Milizia, ap. Nibby, *Roma Mod.* t. i. p. 600.

from the Mausoleum of Hadrian. The ancient Basilica was burnt down in 1823, but has since been restored more magnificently than before.

The Basilica of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, close to the Amphitheatrum Castrense, is related to have been erected by Constantine in the imperial gardens called Sessorium. Hence it is sometimes called Basilica Sessoriana ; sometimes also Heleniana, from Constantine's mother. Its more common name of Santa Croce is derived from a fragment of the cross preserved in it, supposed to have been discovered by Helena.

The Basilica of Sta. Agnese (*sulla Via Nomentana*), about two miles from Porta Pia, was, it is said, erected by Constantine at the prayer of his daughter Constantina. St. Agnes suffered martyrdom in 310, and the church was erected over the cemetery in which she had been buried, and which formed part of the imperial domains. This church, although it has been restored several times, is remarkable as the only one which has preserved the characteristic of the ancient Basilicæ, by having an upper portico over a lower one.

S. Lorenzo *fuori le Mura* is also one of the Basilicæ ascribed to Constantine. It was built in the cemetery of S. Ciriaca, a Roman matron who caused the bodies of the martyrs to be buried there, and among them that of S. Lorenzo, first deacon of the Roman church. This Basilica, as well as St. Paul's, has been celebrated in the verses of Prudentius.[1]

The Church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, the last of the seven, stood under the Cælian Hill, just outside the ancient Porta Querquetulana, and not far from the Lateran.

We shall also mention here two other Basilicæ to

[1] *Peristeph.* Hymn. ii. 525 sqq., xii. 45-54.

complete the number of all the Roman churches to which that name has been applied. These are the Basilica S. SEBASTIANO *fuori delle Mura*, and STA. MARIA MAGGIORE.

S. Sebastian, which stands about two miles beyond the gate of the same name, was built over what is commonly called the cemetery of Calixtus, the most celebrated of the ancient catacombs. The date of its foundation is altogether uncertain, though by some writers it has been ascribed to Constantine.

Sta. Maria Maggiore, one of the four patriarchal Basilicas, the others being the Lateran, St. Peter's, and St. Paul without the Walls, is thought to have been founded in the middle of the fourth century, in the pontificate of Liberius. It stands on the highest point of the Esquiline near the ancient Macellum Liviæ. It was sometimes called Sta. Maria ad Nives, from a prodigious fall of snow early in August on the spot where it stands; which, according to the legend, gave occasion to its foundation. Its name of *Maggiore* was derived from its being the first Roman church dedicated to the Virgin.

The worship of the Virgin appears not, however, to have been officially recognized at Rome till the following century. The first prominent trace of Mariolatry is in the reign of Pope Sixtus III. (432-440), who rebuilt and enlarged the Basilica, adorned it with splendid mosaics, and consecrated it to the Mother of God.[1]

Of the churches above enumerated, seven, although they gave no title to a cardinal, were regarded as the chief and most venerable of Rome, and were, in the middle ages, the objects of the visits of the Western

[1] Anastasius, *Vita Sixti III.* § 64.

pilgrims. These were St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, S. Lorenzo, Sta. Maria Maggiore, S. Sebastian in the Appian Way, and Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme.

From describing the origin of the first Basilicæ, and the conversion of heathen buildings into Christian churches, it is a natural transition to consider whether any of the rites of pagan worship also passed into the Christian service. The first Roman converts to Christianity appear to have had very inadequate ideas of the sublime purity of the Gospel, and to have entertained a strange medley of pagan idolatry and Christian truth. The Emperor Alexander Severus, who had imbibed from his mother Mammæa a singular regard for the Christian religion, is said to have placed in his domestic chapel the images of Abraham, of Orpheus, of Apollonius, and of Christ, as the four chief sages who had instructed mankind in the methods of adoring the Supreme Deity.[1] Constantine himself, the first Christian emperor, was deeply imbued with the superstitions of paganism; he had been Pontifex Maximus, and it was only a little while before his death that he was formally received by baptism into the Christian church. He was particularly devoted to the worship of Apollo, and he attempted to conciliate his pagan and his Christian subjects by the respect which he appeared to entertain for the religion of both. An edict enjoining the solemn observance of Sunday was balanced in the same year by another directing that when the palace or any other public building should be struck by lightning, the haruspices should be regularly consulted.[2] There is indeed an edict of May 16th, 319, fordidding an haruspex to enter a private house under pain of being burnt, whilst he who called

[1] Lampr. *Alex. Sever.* c. 29.

[2] *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 1.

him in was to be banished, and his goods were to be confiscated. But the secret exercise of this art for unlawful purposes had been forbidden many centuries before by the Twelve Tables and afterwards by the Emperor Tiberius,[1] and Constantine's edict just referred to proceeds to allow its exercise in open day in the temples and at the public altars.[2] It may be presumed that such a sovereign might have beheld without concern the intermixture of heathen with Christian rites; nay, that he might have favoured such a mixture as a means of inducing his pagan subjects the more readily to obey his exhortations for the adoption of Christianity. Such a mode was perhaps also generally felt, so far as it could be allowed, to be a necessary compromise in the rude and sudden transition from paganism to a religion of so opposite a character.

Of the fact, however, whatever may have been its cause—and we can imagine no more probable one—there can be no doubt. The resemblance between some of the pagan and the Roman Catholic rites is too striking to be ignored even by the most careless observer. We shall here adduce some of the most remarkable instances, and leave the reader to form his own conclusion.[3]

The tonsure of the Roman Catholic priests appears to have been borrowed from those of Anubis,[4] the worship of which Egyptian deity had long been introduced at Rome. Thus we are told that the Emperor Commo-

[1] "Haruspices secreto ac sine testibus consuli vetuit."—Suet. *Tiber*, 63.

[2] *Cod. Theod.* ix. 16, 1 and 2.

[3] See on this subject Middleton's *Letter from Rome*, from which the greater part of the following illustrations have been taken.

[4] Herod. ii. 36.

dus got his head shaved in order that he might carry the god in procession.[1]

The burning of lamps or candles was a frequent custom in the pagan worship, as it now is in that of the Roman Catholic church,[2] and the gifts of lamps and candlesticks to temples and altars are frequently recorded in inscriptions. The burning of lights seems to have been originally substituted for the sacrifice of human victims, and the altars of Saturn, which had once reeked with human blood, were afterwards adored instead with lighted candles.[3] Lights appear to have been burnt in ancient Rome before the Compitalian Lares, just as we now see them before the images of the Madonna. So, too, the bearing of torches in monkish funeral processions was a heathen custom, as we see from Virgil's description of the funeral of Pallas:

> Arcades ad portas ruere, et de more vetusto
> Funereas rapuere faces: lucet via longo
> Ordine flammarum, et late discriminat agros.[4]

The ancient idols were dressed out in curious and costly robes, and the pagan priests carried them about in processions just as their Roman Catholic successors do at the present day.[5]

The pagans had a vessel of holy water, called by the

[1] Lamprid. *Comm.* 9.

[2] "Placuere et lychnuchi pensiles in delubris."— Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 8.

[3] "Quia non solum virum sed et lumina *φῶτα* significat," says Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 7—the interpretation of a genuine grammarian! Yet centuries before Lucretius (ii. 77) had compared the fleeting life of man to a lamp:

> Et quasi cursores vitaï lampada tradunt.

[4] *Æn.* xi. 143.

[5] Tertullian, *De Idolatr.*

Greeks περιῤῥαντήριον, by the Latins aquiminarium or amula, placed at the entrance of their temples, wherewith to besprinkle themselves; the water in which, as is still the custom, appears to have been mixed with salt. Ion, in Euripides, alludes to this purgation, but from the living fountain:

> ἀλλ' ὦ Φοίβου Δελφοὶ θέραπες
> τὰς Κασταλίας ἀργυρουειδεῖς
> βαίνετε δίνας, καθαραῖς δὲ δρόσοις
> φαιδρυνάμενοι, στείχετε ναούς.[1]

Crœsus sent two such vessels to the temple at Delphi: a golden one to stand on the right-hand side of the entrance, a silver one on the left.[2] The forbidding a person to approach the holy water was a method of excommunication.[3] The sprinkling brush (aspersorium, aspergillum) resembled that now in use, as may be seen from representations on bas-reliefs and coins. And as the modern Romans cause their horses and other animals to be sprinkled and blessed by the priest during the festival of St. Antony, so the ancient husbandman purified his flocks and herds at the festival of the Palilia.

The custom of *ex voto* offerings passed from the Roman temples into the Christian. Many of these offerings, representing arms, legs, and other parts of the human body, have been found in the Insula Tiberina, the site of the Temple of Æsculapius, just as they may still be seen in many Catholic churches; and in extraordinary plentifulness in the Church of St. Antony at Padua.

In the imperial times, the Pontifex Maximus pre-

[1] ver. 94.

[2] Herod. lib. i. c. 51.

[3] Æschin. *in Ctesiph.* 58.

sented his foot to be kissed like the Pope at present. The Emperor Caligula, as holder of that sacred office, appears to have first introduced this servile custom at Rome, which was adopted from the Persians.[1]

But of all the pagan customs introduced into the Christian worship, one of the most remarkable is that of burning incense. The *βωμὸς θυήεις* is of frequent occurrence in Homer, as the aræ turicremæ in the Latin poets. So Ovid:

> Araque gramineo viridis de cespite fiat,
> Et velet tepidos nexa corona focos.
> Da mihi tura, puer, pingues facientia flammas,
> Quodque pio fusum stridat in igne merum.[2]

The primitive Christians held this rite in such abhorrence that under the pagan emperors the requiring a man to throw a grain of incense into the censer was adopted as a test of his religion.[3]

[1] Seneca, *De Benef.* ii. 12. [2] *Trist.* v. 5, 9.

[3] *Acta Martyr. Nicandri*, ap. Mabillon, *Iter. Ital.* t. i. pt. ii. p. 247.

SECTION VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE I. TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE IN 476.

THE new religion introduced by Constantine found, from its socialistic features, ready acceptance among the middling and lower classes of the Roman people. But the same precepts of humility, of universal love and brotherhood, which made Christianity acceptable to these classes, were precisely calculated to offend the pride and rouse the opposition of the Roman aristocracy. The pretensions of this class rested necessarily on ancient traditions. They looked back with a natural, and perhaps excusable, pride on the glories of ancient Rome, on the deeds achieved by their ancestors, or at all events by their predecessors, under the supposed protection of the heathen deities, at whose shrines they still offered the accustomed sacrifice. Nevertheless, Christianity had, on the whole, now taken indestructible root among the Roman people; and all the attempts of the clever and apostate emperor Julian to restore the ancient worship proved unavailing.

During this period of struggle for the mastery between the two religions, the general appearance of the city seems for some time to have undergone but little alteration. Constantine robbed it of some of its ornaments in order to embellish Constantinople; and in

particular he appears to have carried off a vast number of statues; yet such was their abundance at Rome, that those taken were hardly missed.[1] The honour of a statue appears indeed to have been often too lightly conferred at Rome. The practice is noted and rebuked in an anecdote of Cato the Censor, who, when asked why he had no statue, replied: "I would rather that good men should inquire why I had not deserved it, than whisper among one another why I had obtained it."[2]

Ammianus Marcellinus has left us some sketches of Rome about the middle of the fourth century. Throughout the world, he tells us, Rome was still looked up to as a mistress and queen, and the name of the Roman people was treated with reverence. But these sentiments were entertained only by foreigners living at a distance. Those who, like Ammianus himself, had a more intimate and personal knowledge of the Romans, were aware how little they merited respect. The reminiscences of a great name and the reality of enormous wealth, combined with the utter want of any manly and honourable employment in public life, had rendered the nobles and senators proud, conceited, overbearing, idle, luxurious, and profligate, while the rabble, so far as their means extended, aped their superiors. The pictures of Ammianus are doubtless exaggerated; but, after due allowance on this score, enough remains to show to what a depth of degradation the former masters

[1] There is an enumeration of the principal statues at Rome at the end of the *Notitia*. Zacharias, who wrote an ecclesiastical history of the latter half of the fifth century (translated from the Syriac by Angelo Mai, *Scripp. Vet.* t. x. Præf. xii. sqq.), enumerates among the ornaments of Rome 1,350 fountains, 3,785 bronze statues of emperors, &c. See Gregorovius, B. i. S. 78.

[2] Amm. Marcell. xiv. 6, § 8.

of the world had sunk. We shall here present the more salient traits recorded by this writer.[1]

The pride of some of the nobles lay in well-sounding names, and they bragged themselves off immensely as Reburri, Fabunii, Pagonii, Geriones, Dalii, Taracii, or Perrasii. Some boasted of their wealth and estates from morning to night, although nobody asked about them, while others gratified their pride by having a higher carriage than their neighbours. When they went out for an airing, they hurried through the streets at a gallop, spurring on their horses as if bent on important public business, and followed by whole troops of domestics, like so many bands of robbers. In like manner the matrons, with veiled heads, were carried in litters through all the outskirts of the city, accompanied by the domestics, marshalled like an army, and commanded by officers with rods in their right hands. First came the domestics who attended to the weaving and clothing department; then those attached to the kitchen, all dressed in black. These were followed promiscuously by the rest of the slaves, mixed with the idle plebeians of the neighbourhood. Last came a multitude of squalid repulsive-looking eunuchs of all ages, from old men to boys. These traits show to what an extent the manners of the East had been introduced at Rome.

Some of the nobles went to the baths followed by a train of fifty servants, and gave their orders in a loud

[1] *Ibid.* 9 sqq. and xxviii. 4, § 6 sqq. The reader will find a more elegant paraphrase of these passages in Gibbon's thirty-first chapter. But in one particular the great historian has somewhat distorted the account of Ammianus, by assigning the train of dressmakers, cooks, eunuchs, and idle plebeians, to the master in his journeys into the country, instead of to the matron in her excursions about the town.

and insolent tone. But if they chanced to hear that some old harridan had arrived, formerly perhaps a mean slave or common prostitute, they immediately surrounded her, and loaded her with fulsome praises such as the Parthians might have bestowed on Semiramis, or the Egyptians on Cleopatra. When one of these nobles had come out of the bath and dried himself with soft towels, he diligently examined the wardrobe which he had brought with him, and selected a garment from a number sufficient for eleven men. Then having got back his rings, which he had given to the servant lest they should be injured by the moisture, he walked off, holding out his fingers as if they had been measured. Nothing could equal the pains bestowed upon their dress. One thing was put over another, and the whole so arranged as to display the long rich tunics underneath with embroidered fringes, representing animals and other devices.

When they went into the country to hunt, all the trouble of which was done for them by others, or if in hot weather they sailed in their painted galleys from Lake Avernus to Puteoli or Caieta, they considered themselves to have equalled the marches of Alexander or Cæsar. If a fly settled on the silken folds of their gilt fans, or a little sunbeam penetrated through a rent in their parasols, they fancied themselves more unfortunate than if they had been born in Cimmeria.

Nothing could exceed the ridiculous haughtiness of their manners. Had one of them obtained some trifling dignity, he walked along with head erect, eyeing his former acquaintances askance, so that you might take him for Marcellus returning from the capture of Syracuse. Their flatterers were thought sufficiently happy if permitted to kiss their hands or their knees.

Foreigners especially were treated with supreme contempt. One who had been received on his arrival with apparent affability would be totally forgotten on the morrow. All the duties of politeness were thought to be discharged, even towards one to whom they were under obligations, if they inquired what baths he used, or at whose house he was staying. Foreigners were seldom invited to dinner, except they understood dicing and racing, or pretended to be in some secrets, or were rich and childless; while the learned and sober were shunned as useless and unlucky companions. Yet if you happened to receive an invitation from a senator, couched in well-weighed sentences, you would do better to murder his brother than decline it; for that would be considered an insult to his pedigree. The dinner itself was intended only for vain display. When the meal was on the table, the scales were called for, the fishes, birds, and dormice were weighed, and their weights discussed till the company were weary; nay, sometimes a score or two of notaries took down the weights on their tablets. Such persons were naturally surrounded by idle and garrulous flatterers. And as the ancient Roman was to be pleased by alluding to his battles and sieges, so the modern one may be flattered into conceiving himself something more than human merely by praising his lofty columns, or his walls adorned with stones of variegated and well-chosen colours.

Many of the Romans were exceedingly rich, but many also lived on credit; and all of them would condescend to the meanest arts to get money without trouble. They were all legacy-hunters; and when they had succeeded in getting named in a will, the testator, it was said, sometimes suddenly disappeared. They courted no friends but those from whom they expected to derive

some benefit. They never thought of visiting sick friends, and servants who had been sent to inquire after them were compelled to take a bath before they were re-admitted into the house. Nevertheless, even when they were really sick, if bid forth to a wedding, they would go even as far as Spoleto, because on such occasions gold was offered in the hollow of the right hand. Hence also their friendship for dicers, whom they treated with the greatest distinction; by which these gamesters were so puffed up that if any low fellow, well up in the secret turns of the game, should be placed at table below a man of pro-consular dignity, you would see him walk off with a gravity more sad and solemn than we may fancy Porcius Cato to have shown after an unexpected repulse from the prætorship.

It would be absurd to suppose that such men should have had any taste for learning and the liberal arts. In fact, letters were to them worse than poison; and though they enjoyed an uninterrupted leisure, they opened no books but those of Marius Maximus[1] and Juvenal, the reason of which it lay out of the power of Ammianus to explain. In houses once celebrated for the cultivation of literature, nothing was now to be heard but music and singing; the vocalist had taken the place of the philosopher, and the teacher of the mimic arts that of the orator; the libraries appeared to be sealed up for ever, like sepulchres, and hydraulic organs, lutes as big as coaches, and other portentous instruments, were found instead. Nothing can more strongly show the degraded state of learning than the fact that when a little previously, on the apprehension of a scarcity,

[1] A verbose historian of the Roman emperors, of whom little is known, and whose works have entirely perished.

foreigners were expelled the city, mimes and their followers, or those who for a time pretended to be so, were allowed to remain, together with three thousand female dancers, with their teachers and corps de ballet in equal numbers. Wherever you turned your eyes you might see whole bevies of frizzled women whirling round in interminable circles, brushing the pavement with their feet, and imitating the pantomimic dances which they had seen in the theatres.

But if the nobles had no taste for learning, they were devoted to the study of astrology, and would do nothing without first consulting the stars. Some of them had such notions of justice, that if a slave was too slow in bringing them warm water, they would order him to have three hundred lashes; while if he committed a wilful homicide, and many persons pressed for his punishment, the master would merely observe that he was a naughty good-for-nothing fellow, and that if ever he did the like again he should be corrected.

Such were the nobles. Of the crowd of the baser sort some were accustomed to spend the night in wine-shops, some under the awnings of the theatres, which Catulus first introduced in his ædileship in imitation of the luxury of Campania. Even among these some pretended to great names, although they had not shoes to their feet. They spent their whole time in drinking and dicing, in brothels, debauchery, and the public spectacles. The Circus Maximus was to them house and temple and forum, in short, the sum and end of their whole existence and desires. The streets and public places and clubs were filled with eager crowds angrily disputing about the event of the next race. Grey-headed and wrinkled old men, whom one would imagine to be weary of life, would cry out that the state was ruined if their favourite

horse did not win. On the day of the games, before the sun was well risen, they hastened to the Circus at a pace that might beat even the chariots themselves, though many had lain awake all night from anxiety about the event. In the theatres the actors were hissed off if they had not conciliated the baser populace with presents of money. By way of making a noise, they would cry out that all foreigners should be expelled the city; yet it was by the subsidies and contributions of these foreigners that they had always been supported. In short, the cries uttered by this degraded populace were altogether brutal and absurd, and very different from those of the ancient *plebs*, of whom many good sayings are recorded.

It will be observed that, in these pictures of Roman manners, Ammianus does not once advert to the gladiatorial combats. They had been formally abolished by an edict of Constantine in the year 325;[1] nevertheless they appear not to have gone entirely out of use till near a century later.

Such were the manners of that epoch; but the barbarian hordes were now advancing to put an end to this splendid degradation, and indeed it was high time.

We may gather from the same historian's description of the visit of Constantius II. to Rome in 357,[2] that, materially, the city retained almost unimpaired its ancient air of splendour. After a period of thirty-two years, the palace became again for a few weeks the residence of an emperor. The lapse of three centuries had now converted the master of the Roman world into an oriental despot. Constantius had been bred up in all the rules of Persian etiquette. During a long journey

[1] "Omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus."—*Cod. Theod.* xv. 12, 1.
[2] Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10.

he sat in his car immovable as a statue, without turning his head or even his eyes to the right or to the left; he was neither seen to nod, to spit, to blow his nose, or even move his hands; only, though he was a very little man,[1] he bowed his head when he passed under the lofty gates of a city, as if they were not high enough for him. Yet this automaton of an emperor endeavoured to make himself as agreeable as he could to the Romans. After addressing the senate in the Curia and the people from the Rostra, he passed on to the palace amidst the acclamations of the multitude. At the Circensian games which he gave he seemed to enjoy the loquacity of the people; nor did he arbitrarily put an end to the sports, as he was accustomed to do in other places, but left them to be terminated by chance, according to the Roman custom. His admiration of the monuments of Rome was unbounded. The Capitoline temple, the enormous extent of the various baths, the lofty and solid mass of the Flavian amphitheatre, the magnificent vault of the Pantheon, the Temple of Rome, the Forum of Peace, the theatre of Pompey, the Odeum, the Stadium, and other similar structures, by turns excited his wonder. But when he arrived at Trajan's Forum he seemed almost confounded with astonishment. That, indeed, observes the historian, we take to be a work unparalleled in the whole world; a work that can scarcely be described, much less again achieved by man. Constantius, the master of the world, confined himself to the humble wish of copying the horse of the equestrian statue of Trajan, which stood in the middle of the atrium. But the Persian prince Hormisda, who accompanied him, observed: "First of all, Emperor, you must order a

[1] "Corpus perhumile."—Amm.

similar stable to be made for him, if that be possible; so that your horse may be lodged as magnificently as the one we see." In fact, so great was Constantius' surprise at what he saw, that he complained of the weakness or ill-nature of Fame, who, though it is her custom to magnify everything, had but feebly described the wonders of Rome.

Constantius resolved to present the Romans with some mark of his favour; and as he could not hope to get anything done that might vie with the ancient monuments, he determined to procure a ready-made one. His father, Constantine, had resolved to adorn Constantinople with the largest obelisk at Thebes, which, according to Ammianus, had been spared by Augustus, not because of its vast magnitude and the difficulty of transporting it, as Constantius was told by his flatterers, but from a feeling of religion, because this obelisk was more especially dedicated to the sun-god, and stood within the sacred precincts of his temple. It still remained in Egypt at the death of Constantine, and Constantius caused it to be transported to Rome. It was carried up the Tiber, and landed at a place called Vicus Alexandri, about three miles from the city, whence it was conveyed to Rome by the Via Ostiensis, and with much difficulty erected in the Circus Maximus. It was discovered in 1587 in the pontificate of Sixtus V., lying buried several feet under the ground, and broken into three pieces. Sixtus caused it to be repaired and re-erected in the piazza of the Lateran, where it now stands. A Latin inscription on the pedestal, in twenty-four hexameter verses, published by Gruter,[1] contained the history of the obelisk. The hieroglyphics on it record its erection

[1] clxxxvi. 3.

by Thothmes III. before the great temple of Thebes.[1] It is the tallest obelisk in the world. Its length, as measured when lying on the ground, was 148 Roman palms. The base having been injured by fire, it was necessary to cut off four palms, or nearly three feet; but it still measures 108 Roman feet, which is very little short of the same number in English measure.

The sons of Constantine, like their father, seem to have done all they could to favour Christianity, but without venturing completely to abolish paganism. There are indeed several edicts of Constantius for shutting up the temples, and making sacrifice a capital offence.[2] We are told by Libanius[3] that this emperor often made a present of a temple, just as he might give away a dog or a horse, a slave or a gold cup; and Ammianus mentions some courtiers who had been enriched in this manner.[4] But, on the whole, paganism was yet too strong to be violently put down. It was found prudent to tolerate, or at all events to connive at, the exercise of pagan rites; and the edicts, if ever published, do not appear to have been enforced. Symmachus,

[1] See Amm. Marc. xvii. 4, § 6—23. Ammianus says that Constantine had destined it for Rome; but the inscription shows that he meant it for Constantinople. Dean Milman (note, ap. Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 401, Smith's ed.) raises a very unnecessary difficulty about the inscription. As there were two obelisks in the Circus, viz. that raised by Augustus, and that raised by Constantius, the *vetus obeliscus* referred to by Ammianus must necessarily be the former, now standing in the Piazza del Popolo; to which belongs the Greek interpretation of the inscription by Hermapias. Let us further observe: first, that not more than two obelisks are mentioned in the Circus, and both have been found; second, that the vast size of that at the Lateran agrees with the description of Ammianus.

[2] *Cod. Theodos.* xvi. 10, 4-6.

[3] *Orat. pro Templis*, p. 23.

[4] xxii. 4.

alluding to Constantius' visit to Rome, describes him as maintaining the Vestal virgins in their privileges, investing the Roman nobles with sacerdotal dignities, and granting the customary allowance for the public worship and sacrifices.[1] The title and office of Pontifex Maximus was accepted by seven Christian emperors. Gratian was the first emperor who, in the latter part of his reign, rejected that title;[2] and it was under him that one of the last contests between paganism and Christianity occurred.

Constantius had caused to be removed from the Curia a statue of Victory, a masterpiece of Grecian art which Augustus had brought from Tarentum and adorned with Egyptian spoils.[3] Ever since the image had been erected no debate had been opened without a previous sacrifice on the altar which stood before it; and hence it became the signal for contention between the pagan and Christian senators. Julian the Apostate, who in his short reign (361-363) did all that lay in his power to restore paganism, but who never visited Rome, ordered the statue to be replaced; and it appears to have remained in the Curia till the year 382, when a decree of Gratian for its removal gave rise to a remarkable contest. The pagan party in the senate despatched their leader, the pontifex and prefect Symmachus, on several embassies to the court of Milan, the residence of the emperors of the West, to procure the restoration of the statue,

[1] Symmach. *Epistt.* x. 54.

[2] See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. iii. p. 100; with Smith's note.

[3] Dion Cass. li. 22 Victory was usually represented by a majestic female, with expanded wings and flowing robes, standing upon a globe and stretching forth a laurel crown. See Montfaucon, *Ant.* t. i. p. 341.

and also of the privileges and revenues of the Vestal virgins, of which they had been deprived. The speech of Symmachus on his second embassy in 384, may be regarded as the last protest of expiring paganism. He was answered by Ambrosius, archbishop of Milan, in an Epistle to Valentinian II.,[1] whose arguments found favour with that emperor. But, in 392, Valentinian was murdered by Arbogastes, the Frank, who placed the rhetorician Eugenius upon the throne. By this emperor the heathen party was courted, as a prop of his usurpation; the ancient worship was for a while restored; the prostrate statues of the heathen deities were re-erected; and the figure of Victory presided once more over the debates of the senate. But in 394, Theodosius avenged his brother-in-law Valentinian by the overthrow of Eugenius and Arbogastes, and proceeding to Rome, which he entered in triumph, again drove out the heathen priesthood.

Theodosius, however, did not succeed, as it has been sometimes thought, in altogether extirpating paganism.[2]

[1] See *Relat. Symm.* lib. x. ep. 54. Both pieces will be found in Prudentius (t. i. p. 101 sqq. ed. Parm.). Cf. Beugnot, *Hist. de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident*, liv. viii. ch. 6.

[2] See Gibbon, ch. xxviii. (vol. iii. p. 413), and compare Beugnot, t. i. p. 491, t. ii. p. 139. The name of *paganus*, or pagan, first occurs in a law of Valentinian of the year 368 (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2, 18, et ibi Gothofred, t. vi. p. 46). Whatever may be the disputed etymology of the word, the introduction of a new term for the followers of the ancient and formerly universal religion shows that they had now come to be considered as a sect, and even a minority. But as *paganus* was already a good Latin word for *rustic*, it seems probable that it was applied in the sense of heathen because country people and villagers were the last to admit the new religion. Of the God of the Christians it is said, "*Magnis* qui colitur solus in *urbibus*." Isidor. *Orig.* viii. 10; Endelechius, ap. Lasaulx, p. 88.

This is manifest from the complaints of Prudentius[1] and St. Jerome,[2] as well as from the repeated edicts of Theodosius himself, and of his sons Arcadius and Honorius, against the heathen temples and worship. At the commencement of the fifth century, the temples of Rome appear to have still subsisted in all their majesty and splendour, though almost entirely deserted by their former worshippers. The youthful emperor Honorius revived in the year 403 the reminiscences of pagan Rome by celebrating the last triumph ever seen within its walls. A whole century had elapsed since the Romans had beheld such a spectacle—the triumph of Diocletian in 303; nay, in that space they had only thrice seen an emperor within their walls:

> Jam flavescentia centum
> Messibus æstivæ detondent Gargara falces,
> Spectandosque iterum nulli celebrantia ludos
> Circumflexa rapit centenus sæcula consul:
> His annis, qui lustra mihi bis dena recensent,
> Nostra ter Augustos intra pomœria vidi
> Temporibus variis.[3]

The three emperors alluded to were Constantine, Constantius, and Theodosius. The Romans had before solicited Honorius to visit their city and celebrate a triumph for the subjugation of the Numidian Gildo; a victory, however, due neither to Honorius, then a mere lad, nor even to his guardian Stilicho, but to their lieutenant Mascezel, Gildo's brother: and they appear even to have erected a triumphal arch, through which Honorius was to pass.[4] But the invitation had been

[1] *Contra Symm.* lib. ii. v. 443 sq.
[2] *Comment. in Isaiam.*
[3] Claudian, *De sexto Cons. Honorii*, v. 388 sqq. [4] *Ibid.* 370.

refused. In this neglect of their sovereigns, the imperial residence on the Palatine, which had given its name to all other palaces, was falling to decay:

> Quem, precor, ad finem Laribus sejuncta potestas
> Exsulat, imperiumque suis a sedibus errat?
> Cur mea quæ cunctis tribuere Palatia nomen
> Neglecto squalent senio, nec creditur orbis
> Illinc posse regi? [1]

Such were the complaints of Roma, who is supposed by the poet to have visited in person Honorius at Ravenna to invite his presence. This time the emperor obeyed the summons; and, leaving Ravenna, proceeded by the Via Flaminia and Fanum Fortunæ to Rome. On his way he visited the sources of the Clitumnus, so beautifully described by the younger Pliny,[2] which, according to the account of Claudian, had the singular property of remaining perfectly tranquil if noiselessly approached; but if the visitor came with hasty footstep and clamour, the sympathetic water, as if agitated by human passions, bubbled and frothed in like commotion. All Rome had put on its best attire to receive the emperor. The road was lined with spectators from the Milvian bridge to the entrance of the palace; the men filled the streets, the matrons occupied the housetops. Stilicho sat in the same chariot as his pupil and son-in-law; and indeed the triumph was really his, for his victories at Verona and Pollentia. The senate had been spared the humiliation of preceding the imperial chariot on foot, and were addressed in a modest speech by Honorius in the Curia. The statue of Victory, it appears, still continued to occupy its ancient station:

[1] Claudian, *De sexto Cons. Honorii*, v. 407. [2] *Epistt.* viii. 8.

> Adfuit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis
> Romanæ tutela togæ: quæ divite penna
> Patricii reverenda fovet sacraria cœtus.[1]

From the Curia Honorius proceeded by the Via Sacra to the palace, amidst the unbought acclamations of the people, to whom no largesses had been distributed. A like applause rose from the crowded Circus with so prodigious a sound that all the seven hills re-echoed the name of Augustus. The chariot races were followed by a venatio, and the games were concluded by a sort of military dance. At the opening of the new year (A.D. 404) and the assumption by Honorius of his sixth consulate, the Rostra again beheld, for the first time since many centuries, the curule chairs, which had now become mere matters of tradition; while the Forum of Trajan exhibited the unaccustomed spectacle of the imperial lictors with their gilt fasces who stood around its sides. But whilst Honorius thus seemed to take a pleasure in reviving the ancient glories of Rome, Stilicho, it is said, gave the first example of desecration by stripping off the plates of gold which lined the doors of the Capitoline temple.[2]

Amongst the games which Claudian mentions as exhibited by Honorius, we find no notice of the gladiatorial combats; and it would indeed have been difficult to introduce them with propriety into the panegyric of a Christian emperor. But we learn from another source that such combats were given. Theodoret[3] tells the story of Telemachus, an Asiatic monk, who in the thickest of the fight rushed into the arena and en-

[1] Claud. *De sexto Cons. Honorii*, v. 597.

[2] Zosimus, lib. v. c. 38. The inscription said to have been found upon them, "Misero regi servantur," has all the air of a fable.

[3] *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 26.

deavoured to separate the combatants. But the people, exasperated by the interruption of their favourite pastime, stoned the monk to death. Prudentius urged the emperor to put down so dreadful a custom;[1] and Honorius is said to have issued an edict to that effect, or at all events to have enforced the previous edicts of Constantine and Constantius, and to have bestowed on Telemachus the honour of martyrdom. Traces of this barbarous custom are, however, to be found long after this period; and Salvianus, in his treatise *De Providentia*,[2] written after the middle of the fifth century, complains of its continuance.

We have nothing further to add respecting Honorius, except his repairs of Aurelian's walls. These were hurried on at the alarm of the advance of the barbarians, and were completed before Honorius entered the city in 303. Several gates, as we have already mentioned, still bear the names of Arcadius and Honorius.

The walls had not been repaired too soon. In 405, Radagaïsus assembled in the Alps an army of 200,000 Goths and other barbarians, who thence, like an avalanche, threatened the fertile plains and populous cities of Italy with destruction. On this occasion they were dispersed by Stilicho, to whom the grateful Romans erected at the foot of the Capitol a statue composed of silver and bronze. The cippus on which it stood was excavated in later ages near the Temple of Concord;

[1] *Contra Symm.* lib. ii. v. 1113 sqq.

[2] Lib. vi. ap. Lasaulx, *Der Untergang des Hellenismus*, p. 30. The value of Augustine's testimony (*Confess.* vi. 8), also cited by Lasaulx, depends upon the time at which the *Confessions* were written, and at all events will not extend much beyond the reign of Honorius. Muratori and Pagi (ad ann. 404) dispute the fact that Honorius revived the gladiatorial shows. The story of Telemachus rests only on the authority of Theodoret, who, however, was a contemporary.

and its pompous inscription in honour of Stilicho will be found in Lucius Faunus.[1] A triumphal arch was also erected to the Emperors Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II.; but it seems to have been but a poor monument, and even its site is unknown.

In 408, Stilicho, who had hitherto been the saviour of Rome, became so engaged in political intrigues that he neglected to check the advance of the barbarians, and Alaric appeared with his hordes before the eternal city. The Gothic leader believed himself guided by the voice of heaven in this expedition, while the imagination of the Romans painted him as urged on by some demon to the destruction of their city.[2] Alaric did not assault the city. The new walls appear to have offered an insurmountable defence, and he therefore prepared to reduce Rome by famine. Stilicho had now been murdered at Ravenna; and the frightened and infuriated Romans, believing that his widow Serena, who resided among them, treasonably assisted the designs of Alaric, caused her to be strangled. So successful were the measures taken by the Gothic chief to cut off the supply of provisions, that Rome was soon reduced to a state of famine. Thousands of the lower classes died of hunger in the streets, and even the senators themselves discovered that their marble palaces, their gilded roofs, and their heaps of gold and silver, could not avert the approach of want. The public misery was aug-

[1] *De Ant. Urb. Rom.* c. 40.

[2] Hortantes his adde Deos. Non somnia nobis
Nec volucres, sed clara palam vox edita luco est:
Rumpe omnes, Alarice, moras; hoc impiger anno,
Alpibus Italiæ ruptis, penetrabis ad Urbem:
Huc iter usque datur.

Claud. *Bell. Getico.* 544.

Cf. Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vii. c. 10; Sozom. ix. 6.

mented by the breaking out of a pestilence, the effect of scanty and unwholesome diet and the stench of unburied corpses. In this extremity of woe, some Tuscan haruspices proposed to destroy the Gothic army by drawing down fire from heaven, provided sacrifices were offered to the gods. Pope Innocent, it is said, was inclined to prefer the welfare of the city to the purity of the Christian faith, and to have secretly given them permission to do as they liked (ποιεῖν ἅπερ ἴσασιν);[1] but as the sacrifices were to be performed publicly in the Capitol, in the presence of the magistrates, the senate refused to sanction an act which would have amounted to a solemn restoration of paganism. It was therefore determined to resort to negotiation. The ambassador despatched for that purpose attempted to alarm Alaric by an exaggerated picture of the numbers and the despair of the Romans; but the barbarian chief, with a loud contemptuous laugh, only answered, "The thicker the hay, the more easily mown." The Romans now attempted to bargain with Alaric, as their ancestors had done many centuries before with Brennus; but they found the Gothic chief even more exorbitant than the Gaul. Alaric would be content with nothing less than all their gold, silver, and precious moveables; and when the ambassadors humbly asked what then he proposed to leave them, the conqueror haughtily exclaimed, "Your lives!" He afterwards somewhat abated his demands; but in order to supply the 5,000 pounds weight of gold, which formed only part of them, the Romans were compelled to strip the statues of the gods of that precious metal. Alaric withdrew before the close of the year. His retiring host is said to have been joined by 40,000 barbarian slaves from the city; a fact which shows how

[1] Zosimus, v. 41.

wealthy and populous Rome must still have been at that time.[1]

The Emperor Honorius, who resided at Ravenna, having refused to listen to the conditions proposed by Alaric, however modified, that conqueror again appeared before Rome in the year 409, and took possession of the port of Ostia. The Roman senate now submitted, and, at the dictation of Alaric, acknowledged the prefect Attalus for their emperor, who, though baptized by an Arian bishop, still adhered to the heathen worship. Attalus appointed Alaric generalissimo of the Western Empire, and bestowed other posts on the relations of that conqueror; but this shadow of an emperor was very soon uncrowned by the barbarian who had set him up. Coins of his reign are, however, still extant.

In August, 410, Alaric, irritated at his treatment by the court of Ravenna, appeared for the third time before Rome, and fixed his head-quarters before the Porta Salaria, on the side of the Pincian Hill. Treachery procured for the Goths entrance into the city; but the method in which it was effected is not satisfactorily ascertained. According to Procopius,[2] Alaric had given three hundred young Goths as pages to the senators, who, on an appointed day, cut down the guard at the Porta Salaria, and let in the soldiers of Alaric; but the same author also mentions a story that the Goths were admitted by Proba, widow of the celebrated Petronius Probus. Even the date of the capture is not quite certain. Some authors place the event in the year 409; but it most probably occurred August 24th, 410.[3] The Goths entered in the night, and set fire to some houses

[1] For this siege of Rome see Zosimus, lib. v. c. 38-42; Sozomen, lib. ix. c. 6; Philostorgius, lib. xii. c. 3.

[2] *Bell. Vand.* i. 2.

[3] See Gregorovius, B. i. S. 148.

adjoining the gate, including the magnificent palace which had belonged to Sallust. Alaric had commanded his Goths to spare the lives of the Romans; nevertheless, many massacres were perpetrated, though their number has perhaps been greatly exaggerated by historians. St. Augustin[1] says that but few senators were put to death; Socrates alone speaks of many having been murdered. The city, however, except St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and the district of the Vatican, was abandoned to plunder.[2]

Alaric, from whatever motive, suffered his hordes to remain only three days at Rome; a period which would not have sufficed for perpetrating much mischief on the monuments of the city. They could have carried away only portable articles of value; but they may also, perhaps, have wantonly broken some statues. Considerable damage may however have been done by fire, although the palace of Sallust, already mentioned, is the only one known to have suffered in this way. The expressions of ecclesiastical historians on this head are doubtless exaggerated; as when Socrates asserts that *the greater part* of the wonderful monuments of the city was destroyed, and when St. Jerome, in his epistle to Gaudentius,[3] even goes so far as to say that the famous city, the capital of the Roman Empire, was exhausted by a single fire. The truth is, perhaps, to be sought between these authors, and Jornandes, who admits only plunder and not arson;[4] and Orosius, a contemporary

[1] *De Civit. Dei*, lib. iii. c. 29. In this work Augustin justifies the decrees of Providence in the destruction of the city and of Roman greatness. [2] Orosius, lib. ii. c. 19; Socr. *H. Eccl.* lib. vii. c. 10.

[3] Epist. cxxviii.; cf. Cassiod. *Hist. Eccl. Tripart.* lib. ii. c. 9; Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 3.

[4] "Alarico jubente spoliant tantum; non autem, ut solent gentes, ignem supponunt."—*De Reb. Get.* c. 30.

historian, has probably hit the true mean. We may gather from him that some destruction was caused by fire, and he points to the Forum, with its false idols, as the scene of the conflagration, which, however, he attributes to the agency of lightning.[1] Alaric, however, undoubtedly carried off a great booty, and a vast number of prisoners in his waggons, among them Placidia, the sister of Honorius, whom, however, he treated with respect.[2] According to Procopius, the Jewish spoils which Titus had brought from Jerusalem were among the booty, and appear to have been conveyed into Gaul. But the whole of them at least cannot have been carried off, since part was plundered by Genseric, as we shall presently have occasion to relate.

Alaric did not long survive the capture of Rome. He died in 410, and was buried by his followers in the river Busentinus. The Goths then chose his brother-in-law Ataulf, or Adolphus, for their king; who, in 411, agreed with Honorius to leave Italy and march into Gaul against the usurper Jovinus. According to Jornandes, Ataulf again plundered Rome.[3] Earlier writers, however, do not mention such an occurrence, which appears improbable from the league which he had formed with Honorius, whose sister Placidia he had married. In 417 Honorius again entered Rome in triumph, when the ex-emperor Attalus was compelled to march before his chariot, and was afterwards banished to Lipara.[4] Honorius appears to have aided in restoring the city.[5]

[1] Lib. ii. c. 19, p. 143. In another place he limits the fire to a few houses, or temples: "facto quidem aliquantarum ædium incendio."—Lib. vii. c. 39.

[2] Zosim. lib. vi. c. 12; Oros. lib. ii. c. 19; Isidor. *Chron. Goth.*

[3] *De Reb. Get.* c. 31.

[4] Prosper Aquit. *Chron.* ap. Gregorov. B. i. S. 171.

[5] Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 5.

Fugitives were recalled from all parts of the world. Olympiodorus asserts that fourteen thousand returned in one day; but that, no doubt, is an exaggeration.[1]

We find about this time edicts for the destruction of the heathen temples, or for their conversion to other purposes. Those situated on the property of private persons were to be destroyed; those in towns or cities, or in the imperial domains, were either to be converted into Christian churches, or applied to some other use.[2] This must have given a heavy blow to paganism. Meanwhile the church flourished. Its temporalities had been endowed by donations of landed property called *patrimonia*, whilst its dogmatical system had been built up and consolidated by the talents and learning of the Fathers. But the functions of the Bishop of the Lateran were still almost exclusively confined to the administration of the church, though already, in the fifth century, he began to exercise a certain influence in civic affairs. The absence of the emperors from Rome contributed to increase the authority of the bishop; and as the city sank deeper and deeper in poverty and misery, he began gradually to be regarded as its father and protector. Under a prefect and senate, Rome assumed more and more every day a municipal character. Hence the bishop became its chief distinction, and his election, which was often contested, formed the most important business of the inhabitants.

Honorius died at Ravenna August 15th, 423, but his remains were buried at Rome near those of S. Peter. After this event, while Theodosius was debating whether he should unite the Eastern and Western Empires, or bestow the latter on Valentinian, the minor son of Placidia by her second husband Constantius, he was sur-

[1] Ap. Photium.

[2] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 10, 19, &c.

prised by the news that the purple had been seized by John, Primicerius of the Notaries of Ravenna, who was acknowledged as emperor by the Romans. But in 425 John was defeated and captured by Ardaburius and Aspar, Theodosius' generals; when Valentinian and Placidia were established at Ravenna, and the usurper was executed. Placidia now proceeded with Valentinian, who was only seven years old, to Rome. Here he received the imperial purple from the hands of a plenipotentiary of Theodosius, and, under the guardianship of his mother, was declared Augustus, or emperor, with the title of Valentinian III. He then returned to Ravenna to conduct the government under the guidance of his mother.

The reign of Valentinian III. was marked by the advancing encroachments of the barbarians. Between the years 429 and 439, Africa was wrested from the Empire by the Vandals. Between the years 433 and 454, Aëtius must be regarded as the bulwark of the Empire. Rome, alarmed at the approach of the Huns, formed a league with the Alani and Western Goths, and in 451 Attila and his Sarmatic hordes were overthrown on the Catalaunian plains. The king of the Huns retired into Lower Pannonia to recruit his forces. In the spring of 452 he again descended from the Julian Alps into Italy, whither, according to the story, he had been invited by Honoria, sister of Valentinian III., with the offer of her hand. At the approach of the Huns, Valentinian fled from Ravenna to Rome.

The Roman senate, despairing of a successful defence, decreed a solemn embassy to Attila for the purpose of imploring peace; for which mission were selected the consular Avienus, the chief of the senate, Trigetius, formerly prætorian prefect of Italy, and Bishop Leo, who

had been elected to the chair of St. Peter in 440. The ambassadors found Attila on the banks of the Mincius. The majestic aspect and fervid eloquence of Leo filled the breast of Attila with veneration, and the effect was enhanced by the sudden apparition of St. Peter and St. Paul, who threatened the barbarian chieftain with immediate death if he refused to listen to the prayer of their successor.[1] The *nodus* was certainly worthy of the *vindices;* nor is the legend less noble, nor doubtless less true, than that of the apparition of the Dioscuri at Regillus. Neither the one legend nor the other need, however, inspire doubts of the substantial truth of the stories which they embellish. It is certain that Attila made a sudden retreat into Pannonia; and tradition has ascribed it to a superstitious fear of incurring the fate of Alaric, who expired very shortly after the capture of Rome. From Pannonia Attila threatened to destroy Italy and Rome if Honoria and a suitable present were not delivered to him ; but a sudden death prevented him from fulfilling this threat.

Valentinian III., unlike his predecessors, frequently inhabited the imperial palace at Rome. In the year 454 he stabbed Aëtius in a quarrel, and the act was probably accompanied with a massacre of that general's adherents. Valentinian was himself assassinated, March 27th, 455, as he was reviewing his soldiers in the Campus Martius. The assassination had been contrived by the senator Petronius Maximus, whose wife he had outraged. Maximus now caused himself to be proclaimed Cæsar, but he had scarcely enjoyed the throne two months when the arrival of Genseric and his Vandals from Africa was announced. According to some accounts,

[1] Jornandes, *De Reb. Get.* 42 ; Baronius, ap. Gibbon, ch. xxxv.

the Vandals had been called in by Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, whom Maximus had compelled to marry him, and then revealed to her the secret that he had been the assassin of her husband, though with the gallant assurance that the murder had been committed for the sake of obtaining her hand. His own wife had died of vexation at Valentinian's outrage.[1]

Scarce had the Vandal sails appeared before the harbour of Portus, in June 455, when the Romans rose and murdered Maximus, and the Vandals advanced unopposed upon Rome. Leo tried once more the same method which had been so successful with Attila; but Genseric was not so easily moved as that conqueror; he could be persuaded only to promise that he would not burn or devastate Rome, but confine himself to plundering its treasures. The third day after the murder of Maximus the Vandals entered Rome by the Porta Portuensis. The exact date of this event is uncertain, but it was probably at the beginning of June. These Vandal hordes, with whom were mixed Bedouins and Africans, plundered Rome at their leisure, for which purpose Genseric granted them a fortnight's furlough. The booty was carted off methodically to the ships, the Romans offering no resistance. On this occasion the palace of the Cæsars was completely emptied, even of its commonest utensils. The Temple of Jupiter, which still stood uninjured on the Capitol, was also plundered; its statues were carried off to adorn the African residence of Genseric, and half the roof was stripped of its tiles of gilt bronze.[2] Among the booty on this occasion was part, at least, of the Jewish spoils of Titus, which, as well as massive gold plate from the Roman churches,

[1] Procop. *B. Vand.* i. 4; Evagrius, ii. 7; Nicephor. xv. 11.

[2] Procop. *B. Vand.* i. 5.

was discovered at Carthage eighty years later by Belisarius, and, together with other Vandal booty, carried in triumph to Constantinople.[1] It is related that a clever Jew persuaded Justinian that the Jewish spoils would never find rest but in the place designed for them by Solomon; that they had been the cause why Genseric had taken the palace of the Cæsars, and why, in turn, the imperial army had conquered the palace of the Vandals; upon which Justinian is said to have sent the spoils to a Christian church at Jerusalem.

Genseric also carried off Eudoxia to Africa, with many thousand other captives. Eudoxia's daughter Eudocia was compelled to give her hand to Genseric's son; her other daughter, Placidia, was set at liberty after the death of the Emperor Marianus. Eudoxia founded at Rome a Basilica to St. Peter on the Carinæ, near the Baths of Titus, which was called from her *Titulus*[2] *Eudoxiæ;* and at a later period *S. Pietro ad Vincula*, or *in Vincoli*, from a legend that the chains of St. Peter were preserved there. The Vandals are also charged by the Byzantine historians with having destroyed by fire some of the Roman monuments;[3] but they do not specify any buildings, and the charge appears to be unfounded. Although the plundering was thorough, the capture of Rome by the Vandals appears to have had no enduring consequences—it was merely a fortnight's *razzia*.

Maximus was succeeded in the Western Empire by Avitus, a Gaul, July, 455. The Roman senate, in spite

[1] Theophan. *Chronogr.* p. 93; Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* t. i. p. 649; Procop. *B. Vand.* ii. c. 4.

[2] The churches called Titulus are parish churches, and give titles to cardinals.

[3] Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 7; Nicephorus, *Eccl. Hist.* xv. 11.

of their asserted right of election, were obliged to accept the nomination; Avitus was invited from Arles to Rome, where he was formally recognized. Avitus was a man of much cultivation. On the 1st of January, 456, his son-in-law Sidonius Apollinaris read before the assembled fathers his poetical panegyric on the emperor, which procured for him the easily won honour of a brazen statue in Trajan's library; a fact which shows, at least, that the Vandals had committed no destruction on the Ulpian library and statues.[1] But in a little time the senate found means to expel Avitus, through Ricimer, the leader of the Suevi, then all-powerful in Italy, and Avitus was slain on his return to Auvergne. The throne of the West was now allowed to remain ten months unoccupied, till, in the spring of 457, Ricimer bestowed the diadem on his favourite Majorianus. An edict of Majorian from Ravenna[2] shows the care which that emperor devoted to Rome; but at the same time, by forbidding the application of the materials of ancient structures to the erection of public buildings, betrays the fact that they had already suffered from the practice, and had come to be regarded as mere stone quarries. Nay, by connivance of the magistrates, these materials seem also to have been applied to private uses. The edict ordained that magistrates who suffered such practices were to be fined in 50 lbs. of gold; underlings who assisted were first to be whipped, and then to have their hands amputated.

In 461, Ricimer deposed Majorian, who soon after perished in a mysterious manner. Such was the end of this excellent emperor.[3] Pope Leo the Great died in

[1] Ep. xvi. ad Firminum, lib. ix. p. 284.

[2] *Leg. Novell. Lib.* at end of *Cod. Theod.* Tit. vi. 1, *De Æd. publ.*

[3] Procop. *B. Vand.* i. 7.

the same year. He was the first pope buried within the precincts of St. Peter's. Leo repaired several of the churches in Rome, and erected on the Via Latina, about three miles from the gates, a Basilica to St. Stephen. This building vanished in the middle ages, but was discovered in 1857, and identified by an inscription on marble to the proto-martyr Stephanus.

Ricimer appointed as the successor of Majorian his creature Severus, whose unimportant reign lasted only till August, 465. The throne now remained vacant more than a year, when the senate elected to it the Greek Anthemius, whose daughter Ricimer was to marry. Anthemius entered Rome in a sort of a triumph, in April, 467. His accession was marked by the revival of the Lupercalia; which festival was celebrated, according to ancient custom, in February, before the eyes of the emperor and pope.

Ricimer, having quarrelled with Anthemius, betook himself to Milan, and frightened Rome by his reported alliance with the barbarians beyond the Alps. In 472 he appeared before Rome with his barbarian hordes, and pitched his camp near the bridge over the Anio before the Porta Salaria.[1] Rome was now reduced to a state bordering upon famine, which caused a pestilence. Gilimer, the Gothic or Vandal commander in Gaul, hastened to the defence of the city; but when he arrived, Ricimer was already master of the Trastevere. After a bloody battle, in which Gilimer fell, Ricimer forced the Aurelian gate, and his German hordes entered the city to plunder and slay. Thus Rome was captured for the third time, July 11th, 472. There are no accounts of any buildings being destroyed; but the only parts of

[1] Sigonius, *De Occ. Imp.* lib. xiv. p. 245 (ed. 1593).

the city that escaped plunder were those occupied by Ricimer, namely, the Janiculum and Vatican.[1] The district of the Vatican appears at this time to have been filled with convents, churches, and hospitals.

Ricimer, having caused Anthemius to be put to death, placed upon the throne Olybrius, the husband of Eudoxia's daughter Placidia. But it was the last act of this king-maker. He died suddenly soon after, Aug. 18th, 472. The church of Sta. Agata super Suburam, or in Subura, on the declivity of the Quirinal, which he either built or repaired, preserves the memory of this extraordinary man. This church, which was originally a church of the Arian Goths, and is thence also called Sta. Agata de' Goti, is the burial-place of John Lascaris. From its connection with the Irish College, it also contains the heart of Daniel O'Connell.

On the death of Olybrius, October 23rd, 472, Gundobald, a nephew of Ricimer's, who had succeeded him in the command of the army, bestowed the imperial dignity on Glycerius. But Glycerius was overthrown in 474 by Julius Nepos, who scarcely ruled a year; when Orestes, a Roman patrician of Pannonia, a sort of condottiere, caused his son Romulus Momyllus Augustulus to be elected emperor of the West. The reign of Augustulus was also of short duration. Odoacer had now united under his standards a vast army of barbarians, who flocked to him from all parts; and he demanded from Orestes a third of all the lands of Italy. Orestes with his son took refuge in Pavia, but the town was stormed and taken; Orestes was beheaded, and Augustulus made prisoner.[2] Odoacer now took the

[1] Muratori, *Ann. d' Italia*, t. iv. p. 308 sq.

[2] Procop, *B. Goth.* init.; Anon. Vales.

title of king, but not of any particular country, nor did he ever assume the purple or the diadem.[1] These events occurred in 476, in the third year of the Eastern emperor Zeno the Isaurian, and the ninth of Pope Simplicius. Augustulus was compelled to announce his abdication before the assembled senate; and that body proclaimed in turn the EXTINCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

[1] Cassiod. *Chron.* A.D. 476; Theophan. *Chronogr.* t. i. p. 184 (ed. Bonn).

SECTION VII.

FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TO ITS RESTORATION UNDER CHARLEMAGNE.

ODOACER fixed his residence at Ravenna. His reign of thirteen years was mild and beneficent, but is marked by no memorable event. He made no change in the political constitution of Rome, which continued to be governed by a prefect. At length Zeno, trembling for the security of his own empire, directed Theodoric and his Ostrogoths towards Italy, against Odoacer, whom he styled "the tyrant." Theodoric entered Italy in 489, and Odoacer, after three defeats, shut himself up in Ravenna. Here he defended himself three years, but was at length compelled to open the gates to the Ostrogoths, March 5th, 493; when Theodoric caused Odoacer and his troops to be massacred. He now assumed the title of King of Italy, without seeking the confirmation of it by Anastasius, who had succeeded in 491 to the empire of the East; and, like Odoacer, he took up his residence at Ravenna.

The course of these events, in which the name of Rome is scarcely mentioned, shows that the former mistress of the world had now sunk almost to the condition of a municipal town, governed by sovereigns who resided at a distance. In the year 500, Theodoric paid a visit to Rome, which had from the first declared in his

favour. He treated the senate, who were still addressed as "Patres Conscripti," with respect, but allowed them no share of power. Theodoric was received outside the gates by the senate, the people, and the pope at the head of the clergy. After a prayer at the tomb of the apostle, at St. Peter's, which was not yet included within the walls, Theodoric entered Rome in triumphal procession by the Pons Ælius and Porta Aurelia. He then proceeded to the Curia, and addressed the people at the place near it called Ad Palmam; which derived its name from a statue of the Emperor Claudius II., which stood there, clothed in the tunica palmata. In this speech he promised, with God's assistance, to preserve inviolable whatever preceding Roman princes had ordained.[1]

Although Theodoric did not fix his residence at Rome, and only paid that city a passing visit of six months, nothing could exceed the care which he bestowed upon its monuments. He appointed an architect to superintend the preservation of the ancient buildings, directed him to imitate their style in all new erections, and established a fund to defray the expense of their repairs.[2] He appointed an officer, or count, whose office was called Comitiva Romana, to take care of the statues; of which there still existed so great a quantity, both pedestrian and equestrian, that Cassiodorus likens them to a people.[3] The metal with which they were adorned, sometimes gold or silver, seems to have been a motive to theft; to obtain it, those parts of the statues which bore

[1] Amm. Marc. *Excerpta de Odoacre, &c.* c. 66; Treb. Pollio, *Claud.* c. 2.

[2] Cassiod. *Variar.* lib. i. 25, ii. 7, 34, vii. 15, 17; Anon. Vales. 67.

[3] "Quidam populus copiosissimus statuarum, greges etiam abundantissimi equorum."—*Variar.* vii. 13.

it seem frequently to have been broken off. Fourteen aqueducts still traversed the Campagna, and supplied the baths and fountains as well as the domestic purposes of Rome. Theodoric took these also under his care, and as many of them were overgrown and choked with ivy and brushwood, he appointed a Comes Formarum Urbis, or count of the city aqueducts, to superintend and repair them, with the aid of a staff of overseers and watchmen.[1] The care of restoring the theatre of Pompey was committed to the patrician Symmachus, the most distinguished of the senators.[2]

At this time the Forum of Trajan seems to have existed in all its pristine beauty, nor does the Capitol appear to have suffered much from decay.[3] But we find Theodoric, in spite of all his care of the city, committing an act of spoliation, though not indeed upon what can properly be called a public monument, by directing the marble columns of the Pincian palace to be carried to Ravenna to adorn his residence in that city.[4] In general, however, Theodoric seems to have made it a rule not to apply to his own use anything that could be repaired.

The theatres were still frequented at Rome, but the spectacles given in them had degenerated into vulgar and obscene representations.[5] What could be ventured on the scene in the sixth century may be learned from Procopius,[6] in a passage which even Gibbon has not ventured to translate. We have already seen, in the

[1] Cassiod. *Variar.* vii. 6.

[2] *Ib.* iv. 51.

[3] "Trajani forum vel sub assiduitate videre miraculum est. Capitolia celsa conscendere, hoc est humana ingenia superata videre."—*Ibid.* vii. 6.

[4] *Ibid.* iii. 10.

[5] Salvian. *De vero Jud.* vi. § 9.

[6] *Hist. Arc.* c. 9

description of Roman manners by Ammianus Marcellinus, what a numerous band of female dancers was maintained, even in times of distress, for the diversion of the people. The public spectacles were under the control of a sort of master of the revels, called Tribunus Voluptatum.[1] Theodoric, during his stay at Rome, exhibited games both in the amphitheatre and the circus; but though *venationes*, or combats with wild beasts,[2] formed part of them, it does not appear that any gladiatorial shows were given. The Lupercalia also, which had continued to be celebrated down to near the end of the fifth century, though chiefly by the common people, seem now to have been abolished. Their suppression is ascribed to a treatise against them written by Pope Gelasius,[3] and addressed to Andromachus, apparently the chief of the senate, and the apologist of the heathen festival. For even at this late period the senate appears to have contained some pagans, and we find the consuls accused of keeping fowls for purposes of augury.[4] To recompense the people for the loss of the Lupercalia, the festival of the purification of the Virgin was substituted for it, after the death of Gelasius. It is celebrated on the 2nd of February, when there is a procession with lighted tapers.

During the reign of Theodoric, Rome experienced for the last time the beneficent care of a sovereign. He carefully provided for the food and comfort as well as for the amusement of the people; the well-being of all classes was the object of his solicitude, and even the Jews, who at that time dwelt in the Trastevere, were

[1] Cassiod. *Variar.* vii. 10. [2] *Ibid.* v. 42.

[3] It has been published by Baronius from a MS. in the Vatican. *Annal.* ad ann. 496, no. xxviii.

[4] Salvian. *De vero Judicio*, vi. 19, p. 62.

treated with mildness. But the unjust condemnation and death of Boëthius and Symmachus must ever remain a blot upon his memory. He expired at Ravenna after a short illness, August 30th, 526. His daughter Amalasuntha now directed the government for her youthful son, Athalaric, and under her sway the Romans are said to have been happy and contented. Unlike her father, who could not sign his own name, Amalasuntha was an accomplished as well as an amiable lady. She could converse both in Greek and Latin, as well as Gothic; she was versed in the writings of the philosophers, and favoured the cultivation of learning at Rome, which continued to be the high school of literature. She honoured and protected the senate, whose numbers, however, she increased by the addition of some Gothic nobles; and she made some atonement for the crime of Theodoric by restoring the possessions of Boëthius and Symmachus to their children.[1]

The power and authority of the Pope continued to increase during this period. He was now regarded in the East, as well as at Rome, as the head of the Christian church. The residence of the Gothic sovereigns at Ravenna, and their Arian creed, which placed them without the pale of the church, were circumstances favourable to the papal see; as the pope thus stood between them and the orthodox emperor of the East, whom they recognized for their lawful sovereign. A rescript of Athalaric[2] confided to the pope the civil jurisdiction over the clergy; a concession from which that body subsequently pretended that they were by divine right exempt from secular jurisdiction. The

[1] See Cassiod. *Variar.* viii. 10, ix. 21, x. 7, xi. 1; Procop. *B. G.* i. 2.
[2] Cassiod. *Var.* viii. 24.

Roman hierarchy had now begun to assume its modern form. At the end of the fifth century there were twenty-eight titular churches in Rome, that is, churches which gave titles to cardinals.[1] The origin of the cardinalate is disputed and obscure. According to some writers, the title was in use before the time of Pope Sylvester, while others trace it to the pontificate of Stephen.[2] At a later period the seven suburban bishops subject to the Lateran, namely, those of Ostia, Porto, Silva Candida or Sta. Rufina, Sabina, Præneste, Tusculum, and Albano, the fourteen regionary deacons, the four Palatine deacons, and the abbots of St. Paul and S. Lorenzo, had also the title of cardinal. At this period, however, the cardinals did not enjoy the power and consideration which they afterwards obtained. Theodoric asserted his right to name the pope, and on the death of John I. in May, 526, he proposed to the senate, the clergy, and the people, Felix IV. as John's successor in that holy office, who was accordingly appointed. The election was not vested in the college of cardinals till the time of Alexander III. (1159).

Athalaric died at Ravenna in 534, at the age of eighteen, leaving the throne of Theodoric without an heir. Amalasuntha continued, however, to direct the government, though she ostensibly associated with herself as co-regent her cousin Theodatus, the son of Theodoric's sister Amalfrida. But the Roman manners and civilization which Amalasuntha affected had alienated from her the affections of the Goths; and even the pusillanimous

[1] See a list and description of them in Gregorovius, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, B. i. S. 257.

[2] See Panvinius, *De Presbyter. Cardinal. origine*, ch. 2; Macer, *Hiero-Lexicon;* Muratori, *Dissert.* 61. The name of *cardinal* is usually derived from *incardinare;* that is, addicere alicui ecclesiæ.

Theodatus found it no difficult task to procure her imprisonment in an island in the lake of Bolsena, where he soon after caused her to be strangled.

The Emperor Justinian, who now reigned at Constantinople, beheld with joy the dissensions and misfortunes of the Gothic family, and used the opportunity to regain the dominion of Italy. Theodatus seemed at first inclined to accept the humiliating conditions proposed by Justinian, and to abdicate the kingdom of the Goths and Romans for a yearly pension of 1,200 pounds of gold. But the success of some of his generals caused him to alter his mind, and, when the ambassador of Justinian again appeared to demand the ratification of the compact, Theodatus threw him into prison. Belisarius, Justinian's general, who was at this time employed in the reduction of Sicily, was now directed to invade Italy. After the capture of Naples, Belisarius advanced against Rome, where Theodatus had shut himself up; and, instead of marching against the enemy, he only made a feeble demonstration with his cavalry along the Appian Way. The Goths, disgusted at his cowardice, deposed him from the throne, and elected Vitiges in his stead, a leader of tried valour and experience. Theodatus, who had fled at the news, was overtaken and murdered on the Flaminian Way by a Goth whom he had injured. Vitiges, however, did not at first venture to oppose the victorious advance of Belisarius. He retired to Ravenna, with the view of obtaining the hand of Amalasuntha's daughter; and he withdrew all his troops from Rome, except a feeble garrison of four thousand men. The Romans, taking advantage of these circumstances, despatched ambassadors with an invitation to Belisarius to enter their city, who advanced unopposed along the Via Latina; and as he entered the

Porta Asinaria, the Gothic garrison marched out by the Porta Flaminia, on the opposite side of the city, December 10th, 536. Leuderis, the commander of the Gothic garrison, who had refused to accompany their flight, was despatched a prisoner to Constantinople, to lay the keys of Rome at the feet of Justinian.

The winter passed at Rome in joy and festivity; but the Gothic chief had employed the period to organize a formidable army, and early in the spring he advanced upon Rome with 150,000 men. Belisarius on his side had not been remiss in strengthening the walls, and preparing all the means of defence. He relied especially on the difficulty the enemy would experience in passing the Milvian Bridge, which he had fortified with a tower; and, believing that it must prove a serious obstacle to their advance, he sallied forth with only 1,000 horse to reconnoitre. He had not, however, proceeded far, when he was suddenly attacked by the Gothic vanguard, who, through the cowardice or treachery of the guard at the bridge, had unexpectedly succeeded in forcing the passage; and it was only by the exertion of the greatest activity and valour that Belisarius was able to make good his retreat into the city. The whole army of the Goths now advanced upon Rome, but the walls presented an insuperable obstacle to an assault, and defied all the military science of the barbarians. At one point alone, between the Pincian and Flaminian gates, a defect or fissure in the wall, called murus ruptus or tortus, seemed to present an opening; but this part, which had been confided to the special protection of St. Peter, was respected by the superstition of the enemy.[1] Vitiges principally directed his attack against the northern and

[1] Procop. *Bell. Goth.* lib. i. c. 14.

eastern side of the city; but, after suffering great losses in several assaults, he converted the siege into a blockade. The gates, seven in number, from the Porta Flaminia to the Porta Prænestina inclusive, were menaced by six Gothic encampments. Belisarius, in order to be near the chief point of attack, fixed his head-quarters in the Pincian palace, between the gate of the same name and the Porta Salaria. Here he seems to have lived with imperial, or rather oriental, magnificence;[1] whence we may conclude that, although Theodoric had carried off some of its marbles, the palace was still in a high state of preservation. Another Gothic camp was formed on the right bank of the river, in the district of the Vatican. The Mole of Hadrian, which had been long since converted into a fortress, was furiously assaulted, and the statues which adorned it, for the most part masterpieces of Grecian art, were converted into weapons of defence, and hurled down upon the heads of the assailants. In after ages, under Urban VIII., the sleeping Faun of the Barberini palace, which had doubtless been employed in this way, was dug in a mutilated state out of the ditch that surrounds the mole. But though the Goths were masters of this side of Rome, their religion induced them to treat with respect the adjacent Basilica of St. Peter. Strong chains stretched across the Tiber prevented them from penetrating into the city by the water. In this siege it was the aqueducts that principally suffered. The Goths broke them all down, in order to cut off the supply of water to the besieged; and Belisarius walled up their mouths, to prevent the enemy from making them a means of entering the city. The immediate consequence was, that the

[1] As we may infer from the first and second veils, or curtains, mentioned by Procopius, *B. Goth.* lib. i. 19-25.

Roman baths were rendered useless, while, what was a still more serious misfortune in the present state of the city, the stoppage of the water-mills deprived the besieged of their accustomed supply of flour. The place of the mills was, however, supplied by barges moored in the river, and fitted up with mill-stones which were turned by the current. But, though the care and foresight of Belisarius had provided the city with a large supply of corn, and though he had dismissed all the useless mouths, dearth and famine, and pestilence, their constant attendant, began at length to be felt. By the capture of Portus, the Goths had cut off the supply of corn by sea; while, by establishing 7,000 men in a fortified camp six or seven miles from the city, in the angles formed by two aqueducts between the Appian and Latin Ways, Vitiges was enabled to intercept any convoys arriving by land from the south.

All sentiments of patriotism had long been extinct in the minds of the Romans. The long and gentle rule of Theodoric had deprived the idea of a barbarian sovereign of much of its terrors; and as they could no longer hope to be their own masters, it seemed almost a matter of indifference whether they should obey a Gothic king who resided at Ravenna, or a sovereign at Constantinople who still called himself a Roman emperor. In the long agony of their distress and fear, they pressed Belisarius either to capitulate or to lead them to immediate battle; and as he declined to listen to their prayers, they began to agitate the design of treacherously delivering the city to the Goths. Some of the leading men of Rome, including Pope Sylverius himself, seem to have been implicated in the conspiracy. A letter to Vitiges was intercepted, offering to open the Porta Asinaria to his troops. Sylverius was convicted both by his own

signature and by the testimony of witnesses; and after undergoing a bitter reproof from Antonina, the imperious wife of Belisarius, he was stripped of his pontifical robes, and sent into banishment. He was succeeded by the deacon Vigilius, who is said to have purchased the throne of St. Peter by bribing Belisarius with 200 pounds of gold.[1]

The Goths, however, on their side were suffering from want, from the effects of the climate, and from their losses in numerous combats, in which a third of their whole force is said to have been consumed. Some seasonable reinforcements received by Belisarius, the artful negotiations of that commander, and the news that his own capital was threatened, and the fidelity of his wife corrupted, by John the Sanguinary, a lieutenant of Belisarius, induced Vitiges to contemplate a retreat. Some final attempts to take Rome by treachery or assault having failed, the Goths suddenly abandoned the siege, in March, 538, a year and a few days after they had sat down before the city. Their retreat was so disorderly, that in the passage of the Milvian Bridge numbers precipitated themselves, or were driven by the pursuing Romans, into the Tiber. Belisarius followed up this success by the capture of Ravenna and subjugation of the Gothic kingdom in Italy.

But the great storehouse of nations was not easily exhausted. After a few years Rome was to see another Gothic army before her gates. Totila, who was elected by the Goths for their king in 541, undertook to restore the Gothic kingdom of Italy. He first employed himself in reducing Naples and the southern provinces, which he effected with wonderful celerity. It was on

[1] Procop. *B. Goth.* i. 25; Anastas. *Vit. Pont.* p. 39; Muratori, t. iii. p. 130; Baronius, *Ann.* ad ann. 536, no. cxxiii.; 538, no. iv. sqq.

this occasion that he had an interview with St. Benedict, at Monte Casino, in 542. In the year 529, Benedict had destroyed there the last temple of Apollo and the grove which environed it, in which the neighbouring countrypeople still offered the ancient sacrifice; and he founded in their place chapels to St. John and St. Martin, and the celebrated monastery which is the mother-convent of his order.[1]

Totila marched upon Rome at the end of the winter 543-4.[2] Justinian had recalled Belisarius from the Persian wars, to undertake again the defence of Italy against the Goths; but while that general was employed in recruiting on the coasts of the Adriatic, Totila seized Tibur, through the treachery of the Isaurian garrison, and massacred the inhabitants. He deferred, however, the siege of Rome till he had reduced the more important towns of Tuscany, Picenum, and the Æmilia, in which he employed the remainder of the year 544 and part of the following one; and it was not till the summer of 545 that he appeared before the capital of the West.[3] Rome was defended by Bessas, with a small garrison of 3,000 men. Totila, like Vitiges, blockaded rather than besieged Rome. He commanded the course of the Tiber above it, and his fleet infested the mouth of that river. The passage up to Rome from the sea was secured by a strong bridge of timber built across the river at a narrow point about eleven miles below the city. The bridge was defended by two towers, manned by some chosen Gothic troops, and by a strong iron

[1] Gregorius M. *Dial.* ii. 8 (*Oper.* t. ii. p. 230); Mabillon, *Ann. Bened.* ad ann. 541 (t. i. p. 97).

[2] Procop. *B. G.* iii. 9 sq.

[3] Gibbon (vol. ii. p. 220) places the siege in 546; Muratori and Pagi in 545. See Gregorovius, B. i. S. 400.

chain stretched across the Tiber in front of it. Nevertheless, Belisarius, proceeding up the river with his whole fleet, succeeded in forcing these formidable barriers, and burning one of the towers by means of a fire-ship; and had Bessas supported the attack by a sally from the city, according to his instructions, the Goths would have been compelled to raise the siege. But Belisarius, finding himself unsupported, was compelled to retreat. The chagrin of this repulse threw the Roman general into a violent fever, which disabled him from again attempting the relief of the city. Before the close of the year (Dec. 17, 546) the Goths were introduced into Rome by the treachery of four Isaurian sentinels, who opened to them the Porta Asinaria. When Totila had entered, he ordered the trumpets to sound all night, to give notice to the Romans, so that they might save themselves by flight. Bessas with his garrison immediately evacuated the city, and he was accompanied in his flight by most of the principal Romans. Totila, for the most part, spared the lives of those that remained, and accepted their prayers for forgiveness; but he abandoned the town to be plundered by his soldiers. With this exception, the inhabitants were treated with almost paternal mildness,[1] till the news of a defeat of the Goths in Lucania excited his anger. He now threatened to turn Rome into a pasture for cattle; and it cannot be doubted that he threw down about a third of the walls, especially between the Porta Pinciana and Porta Prænestina. He also prepared to destroy the temples and other monuments of the city; but a letter from Belisarius, warning him not to sully his fame by so barbarous an act, though it excited the momentary anger of the Gothic chief, had the effect of diverting him from

[1] Anast. *in Vigilio;* Procop. iii. 20.

his purpose. But though the monuments were preserved, several private houses appear to have been burnt, especially in the Trastevere.[1] Hence several writers of the middle ages, and even some modern ones, have ascribed the destruction of Rome to Totila.

Soon afterwards Totila suddenly evacuated Rome, and marched into Lucania, leaving only a small camp at Mount Algidus, about fifteen miles from the city, to watch the motions of Belisarius. He took with him all the senators as hostages, and left Rome, it is said, in so desolate a state, that scarce a human being was to be met in its streets.[2] On learning the departure of the Goths, Belisarius entered the deserted city, in the spring of 547, at the head of only 1,000 horse, after cutting in pieces the Goths who opposed his passage. He now summoned the greater part of his troops to join him, and hastily repaired the walls; in which work it cannot be doubted that he used the materials of adjacent monuments. In less than a month the walls had at least the aspect of completeness, and many of the fugitive inhabitants returned to the city.[3] At this news, Totila hastened back. But though the restoration of the gates was not yet completed, the Goths were repulsed in three desperate assaults. These defeats proved very detrimental to the military reputation of Totila, who now retreated to Tibur, which he fortified; while Belisarius continued to strengthen Rome at his leisure, and forwarded the keys a second time to the Emperor Justinian.[4]

In the winter of 547, Belisarius left Rome for the last time. Justinian had commanded him to proceed to

[1] Anast. *in Vigilio;* Procop. iv. 22, 23.
[2] Marcellin. *Chron.* p. 75.
[3] Procop. *B. G.* iii. 24.
[4] *Ibid.* 37.

Lucania, to support a revolt of the inhabitants against the Goths. During his stay at Rome he does not appear to have done much for the city besides repairing the walls, though it is possible that he may also have restored the Aqua Trajana. The Roman aqueducts seem to have remained useless from the time of their destruction by Vitiges till the year 775.

It falls not within our province to record the warlike operations in the south of Italy. It will suffice to state that the progress of the campaign compelled Belisarius to pass over into Sicily in the spring of 548. The fortune of war during that year was adverse to Belisarius, and he obtained his recall to Constantinople. Totila, after reducing a great part of Calabria, and capturing Perugia, appeared before Rome for the third time in 549. The Gothic chief appears to have been incited to this step by the refusal of the king of the Franks to give him his daughter in marriage, on the ground that he was not worthy to be called the King of Italy till his title had been acknowledged by the Romans. But Rome was vigorously defended by Diogenes and a garrison of 3,000 men, who appear on this occasion to have been well seconded by the inhabitants. A passage of Procopius,[1] from which we learn that Diogenes had sown with corn many of the vacant spaces within the walls, conveys a striking idea of the desolateness to which Rome had now been reduced. The city was again betrayed by some of its Isaurian garrison. In the darkness of night, while the Gothic trumpets sounded an assault on another side of the city, Totila and his soldiers were admitted at the gate of S. Paolo. The Greek garrison now fled by the Via Aurelia towards Centumcellæ, but fell into an ambuscade, in which most

[1] Procop. *B. G.* lib. iii. c. 36.

of them perished. Among the few that escaped was Diogenes, but not without a wound. All Rome was now in the power of Totila, except the Mole of Hadrian, in which a few hundred cavalry, commanded by the Cilician Paulus, had taken refuge. But being surrounded, and in danger of starvation, this body, with the exception of their two leaders, took service under Totila.

Once master of Rome, Totila no longer thought of destroying its monuments; he endeavoured, on the contrary, to resuscitate the nominal seat of his kingdom; he sought to repopulate it by inviting thither both Romans and Goths, and by recalling the fugitive senators. It was during his residence that he exhibited for the last time the equestrian games of the Circus. Justinian, however, would not listen to any overtures for peace. He even refused to receive the ambassadors of Totila; and at the instance of Pope Vigilius, who was then at Constantinople, and of the patrician Cethegus, he resolved on a strenuous attempt for the recovery of Italy. Totila quitted Rome before the end of 549 on a naval expedition to Sicily; but we cannot describe his conquest of that island, as well as of Sardinia and Corsica, and his attacks upon Greece itself. The war against the Goths had been conducted with some success by Justinian's lieutenant Germanus, whose career, however, was arrested by a premature death, when the conduct of the war was intrusted to the eunuch Narses.

Narses assembled at Salona a motley army of Huns, Lombards, Heruli, Greeks, Gepidæ, and even Persians, amounting altogether to about 100,000 men. Although the Goths had been defeated in a naval action, Narses was unwilling to risk upon the sea so numerous a host, for which indeed it would have been difficult to find

transport. He therefore marched round the northern coast of the Adriatic to Ravenna, preceded by his fleet, which facilitated his progress by bridging over the mouths of rivers and estuaries. After resting his army nine days at Ravenna, Narses advanced against Totila, whom he met and defeated near Taginæ, or Tadinum, in the Apennines, the present Gualdo, July, 552. Totila having been mortally wounded in his flight, the Goths elected Tejas for their king. Narses now pursued his victorious march to Rome. The Gothic garrison was not numerous enough to defend the whole circuit of the walls. Narses diverted their attention and divided their forces by three separate and simultaneous attacks; and whilst they were engaged in repelling these, he directed a detachment to scale the walls in an undefended place, who then opened the gates to the Greek army. A portion of the Goths now fled to Porto, whilst the remainder shut themselves up in the Mole of Hadrian, which Totila had fortified.[1] But being surrounded, they surrendered on condition of their lives being spared; and the keys of the city were again forwarded to Justinian.

Narses remained at Rome during the winter of 552-3, and employed himself in reducing the neighbouring cities. We cannot follow the campaign in Southern Italy which resulted in the overthrow of the Gothic kingdom. Tejas, the last king of the Goths, was defeated and killed in a battle near Cumæ, March, 553; and a fresh body of 70,000 Franks and Alemanni, who had invaded Italy under the conduct of two brothers, Leutharis or Lothaire, and Bucelin, were finally overthrown by Narses at Casilinum, near Capua. The arms and other spoils of the vanquished barbarians gave for the last time the semblance of a triumph to Narses' re-

[1] Procop. *B. G.* iv. 33.

entry of Rome in 554. A decree of Justinian's, called the Pragmatic Sanction, dated on the 13th of August in that year, settled the affairs of Italy. The Gothic kingdom was united to the Eastern Empire, and all the acts of Totila were reversed. But Ravenna, not Rome, continued to be the seat of the new government, which was administered by an exarch.[1] Narses, however, the first exarch, resided a considerable time at Rome in the palace of the Cæsars. The Pragmatic Sanction intrusted considerable power to the Roman senate and to the pope. The former, therefore, must have continued to exist, but the old senatorial families were now almost extinct. Three hundred young patricians, seized by Totila as hostages, were put to death after his defeat by his successor Tejas. On the other hand, even by the decline of that body, as well as by the privileges conferred by Justinian, the papal power acquired a great accession of strength. The historian Procopius affords us a slight glimpse of Rome about this period.[2] He had himself seen the Forum of Peace and the temple which, according to him, had been struck by lightning, and still lay in ruins. He further states that many statues by Pheidias and Lysippus remained extant at Rome.

The Romans found the Greek yoke more intolerable than that of the Goths. After the death of Justinian in 565, they sent an embassy to his successor Justin and his consort Sophia to complain of the oppressions of Narses, whose avarice and exactions were intolerable, and prayed for his dismissal. Their prayer was granted. Narses was dismissed, and Longinus appointed exarch

[1] Pragmatica Sanctio Justiniani Imperat. ap. Gothofred. *Corpus Juris Civ.* t. ii. p. 684, ed. Paris, 1628; (Novellæ Constit. App.).

[2] *B. G.* lib. iv. c. 21.

in his place. But Narses was still more hurt by the insulting language of the empress than by his dismissal. Sophia, in allusion to his unfortunate condition, bade him relinquish to men the exercise of arms, and, resuming his proper station, spin wool among the maidens of the palace. Stung by this insult, Narses is said to have exclaimed that he would spin such a thread as she should not easily unravel, and, in pursuance of this threat, to have invited the Lombards into Italy. If, however, such a menace was uttered in the heat of passion, Narses appears to have been subsequently pacified by the intercession of Pope John III.; he returned to Rome from Naples, whither he had retired, and died there shortly after. In 668 the storm broke over Italy. Alboin, at the head of his Lombards, with whom were intermixed warriors of several other races, and especially Saxons, overran the peninsula, committing great cruelties and devastations even in the very neighbourhood of Rome; though that city, as well as Ravenna and a few other places, resisted their attempts.[1] The history of Rome at this period is obscure and uncertain. Justin, being engaged in a war with Persia, could afford the Romans no assistance; but he advised them to bribe the Lombard chiefs, and, if that did not succeed, to call in the Franks.[2] On the death of Pope John III. in 573, Rome was so closely pressed that it was impossible to send to Constantinople for the confirmation of Benedict I., who had been elected his successor, and the papal throne remained vacant during a year. The same appears to have been the case on the death of Benedict in 578, when Rome was held in siege by Zoto, duke of Bene-

[1] Paul. Diac. *De Gest. Langob.* ii. 26.

[2] *Excerpta* e Menandri Hist. c. 25.

ventum; for the Lombard power had been distributed among thirty-six duchies. The particulars of this siege are unknown, but it probably lasted two or three years. On withdrawing from Rome, Zoto took and plundered the Benedictine convent on Monte Cassino. The monks retired to Rome, and established themselves in a convent near the Lateran, which they named after St. John Baptist, whence the Basilica of Constantine, or the Saviour, subsequently took its name. The Emperor Tiberius II., who acceded to the throne of the East in 578, sent a small army to the assistance of the Romans, together with some money to buy off the Lombard chiefs. But neither of these methods was successful; and though Autharis, after his assumption of the Lombard crown, had made a sort of peace with the Byzantine Empire, or rather with the exarch Smaragdus, Rome continued to be annoyed. The misery of the Romans was aggravated by some natural calamities. Towards the end of 589 several temples and other monuments were destroyed by the flooding of the Tiber, and the city was afterwards afflicted by a devastating pestilence. In the year 590, which was that of the election of Pope Gregory I., or the Great, Rome seems to have reached the extremity of misfortune. But from this time her fortunes began to mend. It is to this year that is referred the legend of the angel that was seen to hover over the Mausoleum of Hadrian, as Gregory was passing it in solemn procession, and to sheathe his flaming sword as a sign that the pestilence was about to cease. At the same time three angels were heard to sing the antiphony *Regina Cœli*, to which Gregory replied with the hymn: *Ora pro nobis Deum alleluja!* This poetical legend is the invention of a later century; but it is still recorded by the figure of St. Michael which

surmounts the Mausoleum, and by the name of "Castle of S. Angelo," which it appears to have borne at least as early as the tenth century.[1]

Pope Gregory I., or the Great, must be regarded as having founded the temporal power of the papacy, and as having inaugurated the middle ages, of which the papacy may be called the life's breath and soul. One of his chief objects was to stifle the little that remained of the spirit of classical literature, and to substitute for it a grovelling superstition on which he might build up the power of the church. Although he wrote a great deal, he disdained all elegance of composition, nay, even the correctness of grammar; and held it to be beneath the dignity of an expounder of God's word to be bound by the syntactical rules of Donatus. His great merits—and they are no slight ones—are the correct view which he had taken of his age, and the ability with which he availed himself of it to build up his own power and that of the church. He had been originally destined for civil life, and had even filled the office of Præfectus Urbi. But his sagacity soon perceived that this was no longer the road to fame and power. A great change had taken place at Rome after the fall of the Gothic kingdom. The last vestiges of public life were then obliterated. The consuls, the senate, the public games were no longer mentioned. The patrician houses were almost extinguished; the few representatives of them that still existed had for the most part migrated to Constantinople. The church was beginning to be all in all. The populace no longer received distributions of food from the prefect in the theatres and porticoes,

[1] Gregorovius, B. ii. S. 35 f. The bronze angel was erected by Pope Benedict XIV. (1740-58).

but at convent doors from the hands of monks. The ancient tribunes, prætors, and consuls had been supplanted by deacons, priests, and bishops. Such were the allurements offered by the idleness of monastic life, that the Emperor Mauritius found it necessary to issue an edict in 592 forbidding soldiers to assume the hood. Gregory, on the contrary, did all he could to forward monachism. He spent his large fortune in building convents and founding other ecclesiastical establishments. Yet when the time came—a time which he must have well foreseen—when he was to reap the reward of his pious deeds by his elevation to the throne of St. Peter, he pretended the most coy reluctance. The future pope and saint[1] concealed himself in the ravines of a forest, but a pillar of light betrayed his lurking place. The legends which usher in papal Rome are as numerous and as extraordinary as those which surround its regal and republican period; but there is this difference, that the pagan legends are commonly attached to some event that is worthy of them. Nobody, however, on account of the legend referred to, would think of questioning the fact that Gregory became pope — a method often employed by those who assail the facts of early Roman history. He describes the church, at the time of his accession, as an old wreck. But he saw that her condition was not hopeless; and his abilities, assisted by some political circumstances of the times, enabled him to set her again afloat, and launch her on a more prosperous voyage. A great part of Europe received under his pontificate the Christian faith, and acknowledged the authority of Rome. We need not

[1] Gregorovius (B. ii. S. 72, Anm.) indicates a strange mistake of Gibbon, in making Gregory the last pope canonized by the church.

here repeat the well-known story of his sympathy for the Anglo-Saxon race being excited by seeing some of them in the Roman slave market, and of his consequently effecting the conversion of England through the monk Augustin. He had also the glory of converting the West Goths of Spain, through Reccared, their king Nearer home, the state of the Lombard kingdom helped to spread Christianity and the authority of the pope in that country. Theodelinda, who had succeeded to the Lombard crown on the death of her husband Autharis in 590, was devoted to the church, and contributed much to the progress of the Christian faith among the Lombards. All these events added greatly to the reputation and power both of Gregory and the church.

Rome was now entering on a new phase of existence, which cannot be well understood without forming a general idea of its political condition.[1]

After the overthrow of the Gothic kingdom in the reign of Justinian, Ravenna, which had been its capital, became the seat of the exarchs, the representatives of the emperors of the East. Here also resided the prefects of Italy, whose office cannot be very clearly defined, yet who must not be confounded with the prefects of Rome. During this period, therefore, Rome can hardly be regarded as the capital of Italy. It was not, at all events, the seat of government; yet neither had it quite sunk to the rank of a provincial town, as it formed a second residence of the exarchs. The political and military functions of the exarch were, in his absence, discharged at Rome by a high officer, commonly a Magister Militum, while civil affairs were administered by the Præfectus Urbi. This officer, who was appointed by

[1] For a summary view of this subject, see Papencordt, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, S. 105 ff.

the emperor, was at the head of the senate; he exercised the supreme judicial power, and appears to have discharged all the duties of a modern mayor. But after the time of Gregory the Great the importance of this office rapidly diminished, and the prefect sank at last into a mere criminal judge. The Roman senate contined to exist after the fall of the Gothic kingdom, but it was filled with new members; it had nothing in common with the ancient senate but the name, and its functions were confined to the affairs of the city. Nay, after the year 579, even its very name vanishes for nearly two centuries. During this period the letters of the popes never speak of *senators*, but only of *optimates;* and when we again hear of a Senatus in 757, it is, according to Gregovorius,[1] no longer a reality, but a mere name assumed by the optimates.

The connection of Rome with the imperial court at Constantinople was maintained through the Exarchate, though direct embassies and communications were not unfrequent. On the accession of a new emperor, his portrait was sent to Rome and received by the clergy and laymen with the accustomed acclamations, called *laudes*. It was then placed in a conspicuous situation, mostly in the Lateran; and the name of the emperor was inserted in the public prayers.

An exact ceremonial appears to have been laid down for the reception of an emperor at Rome. When he ascended the Capitol, he was to put on a white robe; he was to be surrounded with musicians of all sorts, and was to be saluted with acclamations in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues. When he arrived on the summit, all those who were present were to prostrate

[1] B. ii. S. 475.

themselves and bow thrice down to the earth. Such was the divine majesty of his presence, that if he chanced to throw his eyes on any condemned person, it was an instantaneous pardon.[1]

The supremacy of the Byzantine emperors appears to have been acknowledged more or less at Rome at least till the middle of the eighth century, when Pope Stephen II. called in the aid of the King of the Franks, and began a connection with that court which resulted in the re-erection of the Western Empire. Before this period, the position of the pope, whatever might have been his virtual power, was not much different from that of any other bishop; although the Pragmatic Sanction of Justinian had conferred upon him some peculiar privileges, and given him a power co-ordinate with that of the senate in some important civil affairs. He was elected by the clergy and the principal citizens, and was then recognized by the acclamations of the people. But he could not be consecrated till his election had been confirmed by the emperor, who for so doing received a stated sum of money. The Emperor Constantine Pogonatus remitted this payment in the year 678, and in 684 abandoned also his right of confirmation. Justinian II., however, recalled this last concession, and required that the newly elected pope should be confirmed by the exarch before consecration; a regulation which lasted as long as the Greek dominion in Rome.[2] In fact, the influence of the Greek emperors on the papal elections, from the accession of Justinian II. in 685 down to the middle of the following century, is

[1] *Graphia*, p. 174 sqq. (Ozanam, *Mon. inédits.*)

[2] *Liber diurnus Rom. Pontificum*, c. 2 (Paris, 1683), tit. ii. and iii.; Anastas. *Agatho.* c. 2; *Bened.* ii. c. 3; *Conon*, c. 2. See Papencordt, S. 109.

shown by the almost constant succession of Greek and Syrian popes. In that interval, out of ten popes, only one is of Roman birth. Even among these aliens, however, the spirit of their order often prevailed over the duties of allegiance. The popes gradually acquired a vast material support of their power in the many estates, or, as they were called, *patrimonia*, presented or bequeathed to them by the piety of noble and wealthy proprietors. These domains were scattered through a great part of Europe: in South Italy and Sicily, Dalmatia, Illyria, Gaul, Sardinia, Corsica, and other places. The pope had vast granaries in Rome, which served in a great measure to supply the daily wants of the people. From this store also the poor were fed, who appear at that time to have been entitled to a fourth of the revenues of the church. The same revenues enabled the popes to perform many useful services; as the repairs of the churches, the redemption of captured slaves, the purchasing of peace from the Lombards, and other things of the like kind.

The military power at Rome during the period we are contemplating, was also held by the Greek emperors, who paid the troops commanded by the Magister Militum. A Duke of Rome is first found early in the eighth century; though, besides the proper Dux Romanus, we also hear of military commanders and other persons bearing that title. The appointment of a duke was occasioned by the revolt of Ravenna and the Exarchate from Justinian II., which was quelled by that emperor in 709. His province was called Ducatus Romanus; but it is impossible to assign any precise boundaries to it, as they appear to have varied according to the conquests of the Lombards. The duke, though at first appointed by the emperor, was afterwards elected by the

pope and the Roman people. He enjoyed the highest civil as well as military authority, and, like the earlier imperial magistrates, dwelt in the palace of the Cæsars. The wars with the Goths and Lombards had somewhat revived the warlike spirit of the Romans, and given them a military organization. The whole population was divided into three classes, the *clerus*, the *exercitus*, and the *populus*. In public ceremonies the clergy and the army appear only to have been named; to the former was applied the epithet *venerabilis*, to the latter that of *felicissimus*. The army, though, as we have said, paid by the emperor, consisted nevertheless of *cives honesti*, or the better class of citizens.[1] Another division of the people was into trade unions, or guilds; which institutions appear to have been handed down from an early period of Roman history. Slavery and the slave trade continued to exist till the latter was abolished by Charlemagne.

After this brief sketch of the civil and social condition of the Romans, we shall proceed to record such scanty facts as can be gleaned of the history of the city at this period. The continual wars with the Lombards had driven the inhabitants of the surrounding district to seek shelter within the walls; and it is from this period that we must date the desolation of the Campagna with its attendant plague of malaria. Within the city many of the principal public buildings were falling to decay. This seems to have been particularly the case with the baths; and from the evidence which they sometimes present of wilful destruction, Gregory and some of his successors have frequently been accused of perpetrating it, and the charge receives a colour from Gregory's

[1] Gregorovius, B. ii. S. 198.

known aversion to classical taste and learning. It must, however, be recollected that the failure of the aqueducts had for the most part rendered the baths useless; nor were they fit for any other purpose. The altered tastes of the Romans no longer required them as gymnasia, as theatres for gladiatorial combats, or as halls for the disputations of philosophers and the recitations of poets. Hence they seem to have been amongst the first public buildings that were made to serve the purpose of stone quarries.

Pope Gregory was for maintaining peace with the Lombards; and the devotion of Theodelinda towards the Holy See, who had given her hand and the Lombard crown to Agilulf, bade fair to insure its continuance; but this purpose was crossed by the exarch Romanus, who fomented another Lombard war. In 593, Rome was again besieged by Agilulf, in conjunction with Ariulf, Duke of Spoleto. Yet so ill was the art of besieging towns then understood, that, although Romanus had visited Rome, and withdrawn nearly all the troops, the Lombards failed to take it. The city, however, was reduced to a most miserable condition, which Gregory has depicted in his homilies. On this occasion he purchased the departure of the Lombards with a sum of money, and in 599 he succeeded in arranging a peace with them. The state of political independence which the pope was now considered to have attained may be inferred from the circumstance of Agilulf requiring his signature to the treaty; which, however, Gregory declined to give.

The murder of Mauritius, and the seizure of the throne of the East, by the centurion Phocas, in November, 602, formed a *crux* for Gregory's conscience. In this ordeal the calculations of the politician triumphed over the

feelings of the saint. The portraits of Phocas and his wife Leontia were received at Rome with those usual honours to which we have already adverted. They were presented to the clergy and senators assembled in the Basilica Julii, an apartment or hall in the Lateran, with the accustomed acclamation: "Exaudi Christe, Phocæ Augusto et Leontiæ Augustæ vita;" and the portraits were then placed in the chapel of St. Cæsarius in the palace. But Gregory did not content himself with discharging what might have been considered as only the necessary acts of routine. He expressed the greatest joy at the accession of this base and cowardly assassin. "The successor of the apostles," observes Gibbon, "might have inculcated with decent firmness the guilt of blood and the necessity of repentance; he is content to celebrate the deliverance of the people and the fall of the oppressor; to rejoice that the piety and benignity of Phocas have been raised by Providence to the imperial throne; to pray that his hands may be strengthened against all his enemies; and to express a wish, perhaps a prophecy, that, after a long and triumphant reign, he may be transferred from a temporal to an everlasting kingdom." [1] But Maurice had forfeited the sympathy of Gregory by an attempt to abridge his power through the patriarch of Constantinople. Of the three monumental columns still extant at Rome, two were erected to the best, and one to the worst and basest, of the Roman emperors. Their merits are aptly typified by the style of their monuments. In the age of Phocas the art of erecting a column like that of Trajan or of M. Aurelius had been lost. A large and handsome Corin-

[1] *Decline and Fall*, vol. v. p. 386; see Gregory's Letter to Phocas, *Epistt.* lib. xiii. ep. 31.

thian pillar, taken from some temple or basilica, was therefore placed in the Forum, on a huge pyramidal basis quite out of proportion to it, and was surmounted with a statue of Phocas in gilt bronze. It has so little the appearance of a monumental column, that for a long while it was thought to belong to some ruined building, till in 1813 the inscription was discovered. The name of Phocas had indeed been erased; but that it must have been dedicated to him is shown by the date. Gregorovius[1] would liberate the memory of Gregory from the shame of this monument, which was erected after his death. Gregory expired in March, 604, and the column was not erected till 608. But a pope who could address to Phocas a letter like that to which we have alluded would not probably have very violently resisted the giving him a monument. Let it however be remembered that Gregory's servility towards Phocas is the only serious blot on the character of a man who, according to the measure of those times, deserved the epithet of "Great;" and that his conduct on this occasion, as throughout his life, was probably guided by solicitude for the welfare of his people. Before we quit this column, we will remark two inferences that may be drawn from it, one regarding the political, the other the material, condition of Rome. Its erection, which is thought to have been commanded by the exarch Smaragdus, shows that the Romans were still a good deal more than nominally under the dominion of the Greek emperors; while the base of the column, discovered by the excavations of 1816 to have rested on the ancient pavement of the Forum, proves that this former centre of Roman life was still, at the beginning of the seventh

[1] B. ii. S. 72.

century, unencumbered with ruins. That the Forum of Trajan was also in a tolerable state of preservation, appears from the verses of Venantius Fortunatus, a contemporary of Gregory's, who speaks of the custom of reciting poems in it as still usual at that time :—

> Vix modo tam nitido pomposa poemata cultu
> Audit Trajano Roma verenda foro.[1]

Another fact which proves the absolute dominion of the Byzantine emperors over Rome at this period is, that Pope Boniface IV., who ascended the throne of St. Peter in 608, obtained from Phocas the gift of Agrippa's Pantheon, which he converted into a church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and all Christian martyrs.[2] The Pantheon had been closed during the two or three previous centuries, and was regarded by the people with a sort of mysterious horror, as the abode of demons. According to a legend preserved in the *Mirabilia Romæ*, Agrippa had dedicated it to Cybele, the mother of the gods, to Neptune, and to all the gods (or demons); and many of the Christians had suffered martyrdom before it.[2]

During the first half of the seventh century, the history of the city is almost a blank. In this period we need only advert to the pontificate of Pope Honorius I. (625—40), to whom are attributed the building and repairing of numerous churches. This pontiff paid

[1] *Carm.* lib. iii. 23; cf. vii. c. 8.

[2] Anastas. *in Bonif.* iv.

[3] "Venit Bonifacius Papa tempore Phocæ Imperatoris Christiani, videns illud templum ita mirabile dedicatum ad honorem Cybelis matris Deorum, ante quod multoties a dæmonibus Christiani percutiebantur, rogavit Papa Imperatorem ut condonaret ei hoc, etc."—*Mirab.*

particular attention to the adorning of St. Peter's, and for this purpose committed an act of vandalism by begging from the Emperor Heraclius the gilt-bronze tiles forming the roof of Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome.[1] From this anecdote we may infer that the temple was at that time in a good state of preservation, since otherwise the roof could not have existed; while, on the other hand, the stripping off of the roof was a sure way to effect the destruction of the building. To Honorius is ascribed the foundation of the church of S. Adrian near the Forum, in the district called Tria Fata.

At length, in 663, Rome again, and for the last time, received an emperor within her walls—a rare occurrence in the monotonous history of her decadence. The wanderings of Constans were perhaps partly caused by the pangs of a guilty conscience; but he is also said to have contemplated making Rome again the seat of empire. Constans landed at Tarentum in the spring of 663, and after an unsuccessful attempt to wrest Beneventum from its Lombard duke, he proceeded by the Via Appia to Rome. The Pope Vitalianus, the clergy, and the deputies of the people, met him at the sixth milestone, not in military array, but with crucifixes, banners, and burning tapers. Thus Rome had already put on all the external attributes of a theocratic state. Nothing but humiliation seemed to be reserved for the popes in their intercourse with the Byzantine court. Gregory had been compelled to flatter a low assassin; and now Vitalianus had to receive with all the honours of the city a fratricide, and, what perhaps in his eyes was almost as bad, a monothelite heretic. Constans exhibited no games, distributed no bread nor money. Instead of these, we

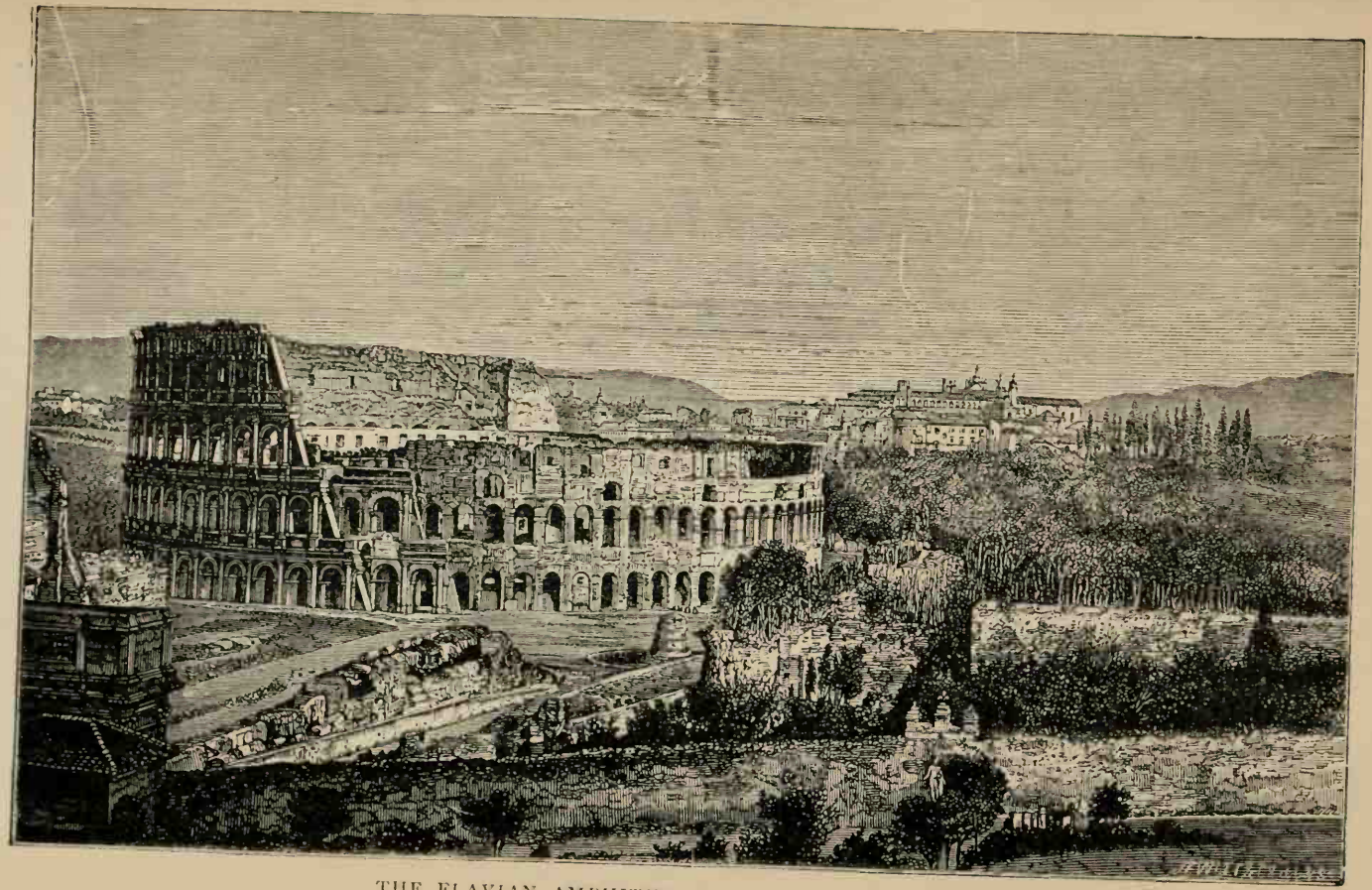
[1] Anast. *in Honor.*

hear of nothing but processions of priests and the emperor's visits to St. Peter's, Sta. Maria Maggiore, and the Lateran. The ancient temples had for the most part either been converted into churches, or had served as materials for erecting new ones. The two springs of life at Rome were now at its extreme points, the Lateran and the Vatican. Between them lay the ancient city, deserted and ruinous, though interspersed here and there with modern churches. It is probable, however, that some part of the palace on the Palatine still remained habitable, and that Constans took up his abode there. Something, indeed, was still left to plunder. We have seen, from the precedents of the Pantheon and the Temple of Venus and Rome, that the ancient monuments of the city were regarded as the property of the emperors. In the twelve days which Constans spent at Rome, he carried off as many bronze statues as he could lay hands on ; and though the Pantheon seemed to possess a double claim to protection, as having been presented by Phocas to the pope, and as having been by him converted into a Christian church, yet Constans was mean and sacrilegious enough to carry off the tiles of gilt bronze which covered it. Thus the Christian emperor contrived in this short and friendly visit to inflict upon the city almost as much damage as it had suffered from the repeated sieges of the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards. After perpetrating these acts, which were at least as bad as robberies, and attending mass at the tomb of St. Peter, Constans carried off his booty to Syracuse, where he heaped up other spoils from Sicily, Calabria, Africa, and Sardinia. But at this place he was murdered a few years after by a slave, while in the bath, and his plunder ultimately fell into the hands of the Saracens.

Towards the end of the seventh century, the diffusion of Christianity in Europe, and the fame of Rome as the seat of St. Peter and his successors, had produced a great increase in the pilgrimages to the city. Here each nation had its proper houses of reception, with guides to conduct the pilgrims to the churches, the catacombs, and other objects of curiosity and interest. The pilgrims chiefly arrived at Easter, and generally brought with them valuable presents. Among the pagan monuments the Flavian amphitheatre was naturally the great object of their wonder and admiration. It was about this time that it obtained the name of Colosseum or Colysæus, which we first find mentioned by Beda in the famous prophecy respecting Rome: "Quamdiu stat Colysæus stat et Roma: quando cadet Colysæus, cadet et Roma, cadet et mundus."[1] The prophecy, which seems to have been current among the Roman populace, probably contributed, like many other prophecies, to its own fulfilment, and to the preservation, at least in great part, of the amphitheatre, whilst its fellows, as well as the other theatres and circuses, have been almost entirely swept away. That the name of Colosseum was derived from its size, and not from the Colossus of Nero, I am now inclined to think, from the fact mentioned by Gregorovius, that the amphitheatre of Capua was also called Colossus. Nero's Colossus, besides, had disappeared before this time (see p. 274).

Among the pilgrims to Rome the Anglo-Saxons are conspicuous, who, after their conversion by Gregory the Great, continued to maintain a particular connection with the holy city. Ceadwald, king of the West-Saxons, after his wars with the Scots, proceeded in 689 to Rome

[1] Ap. Gibbon, t. viii. p. 281, *note.* [2] B. ii. S. 211.



THE FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE, FROM THE WEST.

to be baptized, and died there shortly after at the early age of thirty. His epitaph is still preserved.[1] King Conrad of Mercia, and Offa, son of the king of the East-Saxons, cutting off and consecrating their long hair at the tomb of St. Peter, exchanged their royal robes for the monkish garment, and entered a convent near the church of the apostle, where they also seem to have quickly died.[2] Ina, king of Wessex, like many of his Anglo-Saxon subjects, high as well as low, rich as well as poor, undertook a pilgrimage to Rome about the year 727, and, with the approbation of Pope Gregory II., founded a church in honour of the Virgin, in order that the Anglo-Saxons might have a place of prayer, and those that died a grave.[3] Ina likewise ordained that every house in Wessex should contribute, in honour of St. Peter, a penny a year towards the maintenance of the Anglo-Saxons settled at Rome. For this monarch appears to have founded there a Schola Anglorum, or sort of Anglo-Saxon colony; which may be supposed to have principally consisted of monks and priests, and of young men being educated for the ecclesiastical profession. But all the principal foreign settlements at Rome appear to have been called *scholæ*, without any reference to objects of education. Thus we read of Scholæ Francorum, Frisonum, and Longobardorum, as well as Saxonum; and even of a Schola Græcorum and a Schola Judæorum. But of all these the school of the Anglo-Saxons was the largest and most celebrated. Offa, king of Mercia, who made a pilgrimage to Rome in 794, with a view to make atonement for his treacher-

[1] See Beda, *Hist. Eccl. Gentis Angl.* lib. v. c. 7; Paul Diac. *De Gest. Langob.* lib. vi. c. 15.

[2] Beda, *ibid.* c. 20.

[3] Matth. Westmonast. *ad ann.* 727, p. 269 (ed. 1570).

ous murder of the East-Anglian king, Ethelbert, and the seizure of his dominions, still further endowed the Saxon school at Rome, and extended the payment of the *Romescot* to a part of his own dominions.[1] This Saxon settlement, called Burgus Saxonum, Vicus Saxonum, Schola Saxonum, and simply Saxia or Sassia, embraced a considerable district on the right bank of the Tiber, between the Castle of S. Angelo and the Piazza di S. Pietro, which is still marked by the churches of S. Spirito in Sassia, and S. Michele in Sassia. The church founded by Ina, Sta. Maria quæ vocatur Schola Saxonum, is mentioned as late as the year 854. When Leo IV. enclosed this part of the city, it obtained the name of *Borgo*, from the Burgus Saxonum, and one of the gates was called Saxonum Posterula.[2] The present hospital of S. Spirito, founded by Pope Innocent III., now occupies a considerable portion of the Saxon quarter.

The Schola Franconum, also in the Borgo, was the most celebrated after that of the Anglo-Saxons; while those of the Frisians and Lombards were of minor importance. All these Scholæ disappeared between the ninth and eleventh centuries; or at least shrunk into mere hospitals for the reception of poor pilgrims, and burying-places for the respective nations. The Schola Saxonum disappeared in the hospital of S. Spirito, and the Schola Francorum vanished altogether. The Schola Græca was situated at the spot now marked by the church of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, and consequently in the ancient Forum Boarium. This church was originally called Sta. Maria in Schola Græca. Its new name,

[1] Matth. Westmonast. *loc. cit.* et *ad ann.* 794.

[2] "Posterula quæ respicit ad scholam Saxonum."—Anastas. *Leo IV.* n. 534.

"in Cosmedin," which it obtained after its rebuilding by Pope Adrian I., seems to have been derived either from its beauty (κόσμος) or from a place at Constantinople. The memory of the school is, however, still preserved by the Via della Greca. In the middle ages the whole bank of the river at this part appears to have been called Ripa Græca.[1] At the period of which we are now speaking, we hear nothing of the Jews. Their synagogue is mentioned for the last time under Theodoric; after which they disappear altogether till the tenth century, when, under the Othos, we find them singing the praises of the emperor in Hebrew, and in the twelfth century they are mentioned under the title of Schola Judæorum.[2] Thus they survived all the other schools or colonies.

The edict of Leo the Isaurian, in 726, against image worship, and the policy of the succeeding iconoclast emperors, served to loosen the connection between Constantinople and Rome; though the nominal sovereignty of the Greek emperors continued to be acknowledged by the Roman pontiff down to the time of Pope Adrian I. (772). Luitprand, who was now king of Lombardy, took advantage of this quarrel by seeking to extend his dominions. The conduct of this monarch towards the Holy See resembles that of a capricious lover. At one time we find him loading the pope with benefits, while at another he is threatening him with destruction. After taking Ravenna and other places, Luitprand penetrated into the Roman duchy. But his advance was arrested by the touching prayers and able negotiations of Pope Gregory II. Luitprand not only retired, but even presented to the church the town of Sutri, which he had

[1] Gregorov. B. ii. S. 448.

[2] *Ordo Rom.* xii. ap. Mabillon, t. ii. p. 195.

taken and plundered (728). This was the first town possessed by the popes out of Rome, and formed the nucleus of the States of the Church, so that Luitprand may be regarded as the founder of the temporal dominion of the popes. Gratitude, however, does not appear to have been among the virtues of Gregory. He effected a coalition with the Greeks and Venetians, by which the Lombards were driven from the exarchate. Luitprand avenged himself in turn by forming with the Greeks a league for the reduction of Rome; and in 729, accompanied by the exarch Eutychius, he appeared with his army before the city, and encamped in the field of Nero near the Vatican. But Gregory, with a just confidence in his own eloquence and authority, and in his knowledge of Luitprand's character, imitating the example of Leo with Attila, proceeded to the Lombard camp.[1] Luitprand fell on his knees before the successor of St. Peter, and suffered himself to be conducted to the apostle's tomb, where he deposited as offerings his mantle and armlet, his belt, dagger, and sword, his silver cross and golden crown, and, breaking up his camp, returned without once entering the city. Yet, in 740, in the pontificate of Gregory III., we find the Lombards again encamped in the same place, to demand the delivery of the Duke of Spoleto, who had taken refuge at Rome. This time they appear to have plundered St. Peter's and the adjoining district, and to have carried off many Roman nobles as slaves.[1] But the heat seems to have compelled them to retire.

In the year 742, Zacharias, who had become pope in the preceding year, succeeded in making a long peace

[1] Sigonius has composed a speech for him on this occasion (*De Regno Italiæ*, lib. iii. p. 106; ed. Basle, 1575).

[2] Anastas. *Vit. Gregor. et Zachariæ;* Papencordt, p. 80.

with the Lombards; on which occasion many towns were ceded to the papal see. In this pontificate the power of the church obtained some signal triumphs. Carloman, eldest son of Charles Martel, came to Rome in 747, to relieve himself, by confession, of the burden of a guilty conscience. Assuming the habit of a monk, he took up his abode in a hermitage on Mount Oreste, the ancient Soracte; which abode, however, he afterwards exchanged for Monte Cassino. Two years afterwards the Lombard king Rachis also exchanged his crown and sword for the hood of St. Benedict. The time was now approaching when the church was not only to exhibit, by examples like these, the superiority of her rest over all worldly possessions, but even to assert her claim over the temporal power of sovereigns. The retirement of Carloman having left Pepin sole heir of the Carlovingian house, this prince determined to usurp the throne of the Merovingian kings, those *rois fainéants* who had long been nothing but puppets in the hands of the mayors of the palace. Such a usurpation, however, required the holy sanction of the church; and Pepin and Zacharias soon came to an understanding as to the reciprocal services which they might render to each other. To Pepin's casuistical question, whether he who virtually wielded the power and endured the responsibilities of sovereignty should not also enjoy its splendour and its rewards, Zacharias unhesitatingly answered in the affirmative. (751.) By this transaction the pope secured at once a powerful ally, and established an invaluable prerogative. The principle was admitted that the people possess the right of choosing their sovereign, but that the exercise of this right is subject to the confirmation of the pope. The king was thus subordinated to the nation, and both were subordinated to the papal throne. A most impor-

tant moment in the history of the papacy, and the first instance of the supremacy of papal power over kingly right.

This compact was soon to bear its fruits. Astolphus, king of Lombardy, after reducing the Exarchate in 751, attempted the subjugation of Rome, and demanded a heavy tribute. Pope Stephen II., who had now ascended the throne of St. Peter's, at first turned his eyes to Constantinople; but he soon perceived that no aid could be expected from that quarter. On the other hand, he and Pepin had naturally need of each other. Stephen proceeded to Paris early in 754, where he crowned Pepin, his consort Bertrada, and his sons Charles and Carloman. He bade the Franks choose no king but of this race, and he and Pepin formed a league for mutual defence and support. The pope did not indeed formally renounce his allegiance to the Byzantine emperors, but he named the Frankish king protector, or advocate, of the church and its temporal possessions, and he invested Pepin and his sons with the title of Patricius, hitherto borne by the exarchs of Ravenna. In the course of the same year, Pepin, accompanied by Stephen, invaded Italy, shut up Astolphus in Pavia, and compelled him to cede Ravenna and other towns, which Pepin transferred to the pope.

The Frankish king, however, had no sooner returned to his dominions than Astolphus not only refused to execute the treaty, but even marched upon Rome to punish the pope for procuring it. In January, 755, the Lombards appeared before Rome, and invested it in three divisions. The principal one of these, commanded by Astolphus in person, approached by the Via Salaria, and threatened all that part of the city between the Porta Tiburtina and the Porta Flaminia. Another

division, marching by the Via Triumphalis, menaced the Porta Portuensis, the Gate of S. Pancrazio, and Hadrian's Mole; while a third, composed of Lombards from Beneventum, extended themselves from the Lateran gate to that of S. Paolo. Rome had not been so hard pressed since the time of Totila. Pope Gregory III. had fortunately repaired the walls a few years before, and to this circumstance, perhaps, the city owed its escape from capture. But the environs were plundered and devastated, and it is to this occasion that we must, in a further measure, attribute the desolation of the Campagna. Nothing escaped the hands of the ruthless Lombards but the Basilicæ of St. Peter and St. Paul. The Greeks among their ranks displayed their iconoclastic zeal by breaking all the images they could find; whilst the Lombards, in the midst of their fury and violence, dug up and carried off the bones of martyrs, or those whom they took to be martyrs, from their resting-places in the catacombs. These relics formed no mean part of their booty: at home they would be worth their weight in gold. This trait is not more characteristic of the age than the Epistle which St. Peter himself addressed, at the instance of the pope, to the Frankish kings, clergy, and people, invoking their assistance. The Latin of it is rather bad for an inspired writer, nor are its inflated expressions altogether in accordance with the simplicity of an apostle; but it must be remembered that St. Peter knew only Hebrew and perhaps Greek; and he no doubt adapted his Latin style to the taste of the age, agreeably to the dictation of the pope, or his secretary. St. Peter backed his request with those of the Virgin Mary and of all the heavenly host, including martyrs and confessors; and he concluded with threats of eternal perdition and promises

of everlasting happiness, according as his application should be rejected or entertained.[1] Such an appeal could hardly be neglected by a warlike and victorious monarch. Pepin set his forces in motion, and Astolphus at the news of their approach abandoned a siege which had lasted three months. He shut himself up in Pavia, where he was again besieged by Pepin, and compelled to fulfil the conditions of the former treaty. A documentary gift is now said to have been made by Pepin to the pope, including the Exarchate and Pentapolis. That such a gift was made can hardly be doubted. It is assumed not only in the *Liber Pontificalis*, but also in the *Codex Carolinus*. But the original document has never been produced; the extent of the gift, which was probably only verbal, is undefined, as indeed were the boundaries of the Exarchate; nor can it be said whether the pope obtained the actual sovereignty or only the *dominium utile*.[2] From this period the Church of Rome became a political church. Before the end of the year, Folrad, the councillor and chaplain of Pepin, is said to have laid the deed of gift, together with the keys of most of the towns of the Pentapolis, the Æmilia, and the Exarchate, before the confessional of St. Peter; although the pope, now the virtual master of these districts as well as of Rome, had not yet formally renounced his allegiance to the Greek Empire.

[1] This singular letter is inscribed: "Petrus vocatus Apostolus a Jesu Christo Dei vivi filio, &c. &c. . . . . vobis viris excellentissimis Pippino, Carolo et Carlomanno tribus regibus, atque sanctissimis Episcopis, Abbatibus, Presbyteris, vel cunctis religiosis monachis, verum etiam Ducibus, Comitibus, et cunctis generalibus exercitibus et populo Franciæ commorantibus." It will be found in the *Codex Carolinus*, epist. iii. p. 98 (Cenni). Cf. Anastas. *Vit. Steph. II.*

[2] Gregorov. B. ii. S. 328.

Astolphus died early in 756, from the effects of a fall while hunting.[1] The Lombard army now elected Desiderius for their king. But the crown being contested by Rachis, who had taken the hood, Desiderius appealed to the pope, promising him the cities which Astolphus had neglected to deliver; and Stephen condemned Rachis to return to his cloister. Desiderius then took quiet possession of the throne of Pavia, and the pope of Faenza, Gabellum, the whole duchy of Ferrara, and other places. Stephen II. died shortly after, April 24, 757, leaving the papacy a considerable temporal state. He was succeeded by Paul I., his brother, who appears not to have sought the confirmation of his election by Pepin, though he wrote to that monarch protesting his devotion.

The temporal dominion of the popes was, however, at first, anything but secure; and the Lombard kings long disputed with them the possession of the towns and districts which Pepin had assigned to them. But we forbear to relate the details of this quarrel, which was not attended with any important effects on the city. The contest which ensued for the papacy after the death of Paul I., and the bloody scenes which sometimes took place on that occasion, show how much its possession had come to be considered as an object of worldly ambition. Under Stephen II. and Paul I., the building of many churches, convents, and pilgrims' houses had contributed to give Rome more and more the air of the capital of the popes. Under the former

[1] Pope Stephen announced his death to Pepin in the following Christian terms: "Etenim tyrannus ille, sequax diaboli, Haistulphus devorator sanguinum Christianorum, Ecclesiarum Dei destructor, divino ictu percussus est, et in inferni voraginem demersus." —*Cod. Carol.* viii. (Cenni).

of these pontiffs the first bell-tower yet seen at Rome had been erected at St. Peter's; an addition which began very much to alter the model of the ancient Basilicas. During the reign of Paul, many cartloads of corpses were disinterred from the catacombs, and escorted into the city by processions of monks, and amid the singing of hymns, in order to be again buried under the churches; while ambassadors were constantly arriving from the Anglo-Saxons, Franks, and Germans, to beg the gift of some of these highly-prized relics.[1]

Charles, or Charlemagne, and his brother Carloman, jointly occupied the Frankish throne on the death of their father Pepin in 768. But the reign and life of the younger brother were soon brought to a close. The intervention of Charlemagne in the affairs of Italy was speedily required. When Adrian I., a pontiff of great energy and talent, ascended the papal throne, in 772, the disputes with the Lombard kings were still proceeding; but Desiderius had been deterred from attacking Rome by a threat of excommunication: a striking proof of the dread which these spiritual thunders already inspired. Desiderius, nevertheless, would not comply with Charlemagne's demands for the restoration of the towns ceded to the Holy See; and, in order to enforce them, Charlemagne entered Italy with his army in the autumn of 773, and invested Pavia. As the place still held out after a siege of six months,

[1] A goodly collection must still have been left behind, since an inscription in the church of Sta. Prassede, founded more than half a century afterwards by Paschal I., records the placing there by that pontiff of the remains of 2,300 martyrs. It seems to have been assumed, as a matter of course, that all the bones found in the catacombs belonged not only to Christians, but to martyred Christians.

Charlemagne left it blockaded in the spring of 774, and marched with part of his army to celebrate Easter at Rome, where he arrived on Holy Saturday, April 2nd. The ceremonies observed on this occasion were entirely of a religious, or rather ecclesiastical, nature. Adrian received the king at the main entrance of St. Peter's church, who, falling on his knees, kissed every step of the ascent till he reached the pontiff. After a mutual oath of surety at the tomb of the apostle, Charlemagne, who was dressed in the robes of a patrician, entered Rome by Hadrian's bridge, proceeded on foot to the Lateran, and returned in the same manner to his camp near the Vatican. Easter Sunday was spent in hearing the pope perform mass at Sta. Maria Maggiore; after which the king dined with him at the Lateran. The festival was brought to a conclusion by a mass at St. Peter's on Monday, and another at St. Paul's on Tuesday. On Wednesday, Charlemagne confirmed his father's donation to the papal see. The document is said to have been drawn out anew with additions, to have been signed by the king and his peers, and to have been confirmed with a fearful oath at St. Peter's tomb. Nearly all Italy was made over to the pope, even places which had not fallen under the Frankish dominion, as Corsica, Venice, Beneventum, and others. But this document, like that of Pepin, has never been produced.

Charlemagne claimed in turn all the rights and prerogatives of a Patricius, the title of Defensor, and the supreme jurisdiction in Rome and its duchy and in the Exarchate. Charlemagne now returned to Pavia, took that city, and put an end to the Lombard dynasty. Desiderius, who had been captured, was banished, and ended his days in the convent of Corbay. Charlemagne assumed the iron crown of Italy, styling himself hence-

forth King of the Franks and Lombards, and Patricius of the Romans.

Charlemagne again visited Rome in 781 and 787; on the latter of which occasions, after reducing the duchy of Beneventum, he is said to have made the pope further presents of several towns, including Capua. But another and last visit to the eternal city is far more important in the history of Rome and the world. Leo III., who had filled the throne of St. Peter since the death of Adrian I. in 795, was deeply indebted to the protection of Charlemagne, when, flying from a conspiracy which threatened his life, he had taken refuge at the court of that monarch at Paderborn. Towards the end of 800, Charlemagne again approached Rome, when Leo III. went out as far as Nomentum to meet him. The king passed the night at that place, while the pope returned to Rome, in order to receive him next day on the steps of St. Peter's. On the last Christmas-day of the eighth century, Leo placed the imperial crown on the head of Charlemagne, and the crowd which filled the Cathedral of St. Peter's saluted him with the title of Emperor of the Romans. This revival of the Western Empire was afterwards confirmed by a formal vote.

While Rome was thus asserting her supremacy in the affairs both of this world and the next, the state of her manners seemed hardly on a level with the loftiness of her pretensions. Since the time of Gregory the Great it had been a part of the papal policy to discourage profane learning. Literature flourished more in many of the provincial towns of Italy, and even in England and Ireland, than at Rome; and Virgil and Horace were better known at the Frankish court than in the city of the popes. The papal epistles of this period are

wretched specimens both of logic and grammar. Poetry was unknown, unless the verses inscribed on tombstones may deserve that name. The only art which flourished at Rome was music. We have already seen, from the description of Ammianus Marcellinus, the passionate fondness of the Romans for music several centuries before. Gregory the Great, whose object it seems to have been to render religion a thing of the senses, was the founder of the music of the church. He instituted a school for it in the Lateran, whence the Carlovingian monarchs obtained teachers of singing and organ-playing. The Frankish monks were sent thither for instruction. But the Italian masters complained that they could not make the Franks trill their notes. They seemed to stick in their throats.[1]

[1] *Annales Lauriss.* ap. Gregorov. B. ii. S. 456.

SECTION VIII.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

FROM this period the history of the city and its ancient monuments, or rather their ruins, has little interest but for professed antiquaries; for it is hardly possible to connect them any longer with the life of the people. The civil history of Rome, too, during the long centuries of the middle ages, is obscure and perplexed, and could not possibly be even fragmentarily developed within the compass of the present work. We must therefore content ourselves with selecting some of those events which had a more special influence on the city, and particularly on its monuments, and with endeavouring to ascertain the progress of their decay. Rome was still to suffer at the hands of external enemies; but henceforth her own children, perhaps, were more destructive than these of her ancient monumental glories.[1]

The first half, or nearly so, of the ninth century presents almost a blank in the history of the city. But in the year 846, in the pontificate of Sergius II., the Saracens from Africa, having landed at Porto, appeared be-

[1] In this part of his labours the author must more particularly acknowledge his obligations to the works of Papencordt and Gregorovius.

fore Rome. It does not appear that they assaulted the walls, and, at all events, they did not succeed in entering the city. But the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul which lay almost defenceless outside the walls, invited and rewarded their attacks. In these holy places, enriched by ostentatious popes and pious benefactors, the followers of Mahomet might gratify at once their hatred of Christianity and their love of plunder. The Anglo-Saxons, Lombards, and Franks, who resided in the Vatican district, attempted some resistance,[1] but were speedily overcome. St. Peter's was then stripped of all its gold and silver ornaments; the altar of solid gold was carried off, and the ashes, or reputed ashes, of the apostle were doubtless profaned and dissipated. The Basilica of St. Paul suffered a similar fate.[2] Rome was delivered by Guido of Spoleto and his Lombards. The Saracens plundered the Campagna in their retreat, and levelled to the ground the episcopal town of Silva Candida. Part of their host re-embarked at Ostia; others, retreating by land, repulsed Guido under the walls of Gaeta, and took their departure from that place.

Pope Sergius II. died in January, 847, and was succeeded by Leo IV. The pontificate of Leo is, for the history of the city, one of the most important in the whole series of the Roman pontiffs. It commenced under gloomy auspices. To the constant apprehension of another visit of the Saracens were added an earthquake which occasioned much damage, and a fire which destroyed great part of the Anglo-Saxon quarter. The shingle roofs of the houses in this district rendered such

[1] *Hist.* Ignoti Cassin. in *Mon. Germ. V.* ap. Gregorov. B. ii. S. 97.
[2] Anastas. *Vit. Leon. IV.* n. 495.

a calamity both frequent and destructive. A great part of the Borgo had been consumed less than thirty years before in the pontificate of Paschal I. On the present occasion the flames destroyed part of the portico of St. Peter's; but Leo is said to have arrested their further progress by appearing on the balcony of the church, and conjuring them with the sign of the cross.[1] This incident forms the subject of Raffaelle's fresco in the Vatican, called the "Incendio del Borgo."

One of the first cares of Leo IV. was to fortify Rome against another attack of the Saracens. He urged on the repairing of the walls and the strengthening of the gates and towers, and superintended in person, on foot and on horseback, the progress of the works. But the most important part of this undertaking was the enclosing of the Vatican district and the Basilica of St. Peter's in a wall. Thus arose, as it were, a new city, which received, after its founder, the name of Civitas Leonina. A project of the same kind had been entertained, and indeed some beginnings had been made, by Leo III.; but the rising walls had been destroyed by the Romans themselves. The undertaking of Leo IV. had been sanctioned by the Emperor Lothaire, who also defrayed part of the expense. The circuit was not so extensive as that of the present walls, built by Urban VIII. The walls of Leo, commencing at the Castle of S. Angelo, proceeded so as to enclose St. Peter's, and then descended to the river below the modern gate of S. Spirito. They were built of tufo and brick, were forty feet high and nineteen feet thick, and were defended by forty-four strong towers. They had three gates: a small one near the castle, called Posterula S.

[1] Anastas. *Vit. Leon IV.* n. 505.

Angeli; a large one, the chief entrance, named after the adjoining church Porta S. Peregrini, and later Porta Viridaria; while another small gate, called Posterula Saxonum, corresponding to the modern gate of S. Spirito, connected the Civitas Leonina, or Borgo as it was also called, with the Trastevere. Traces of the wall may still be recognized; and a tower now extant in the gardens of the Vatican will convey an idea of their strength. This fortification, commenced in 848, was not completed till 852. On the 27th of June of that year, the pope at the head of the clergy, barefooted and with ashes on their heads, walked in solemn procession round the new walls, invoking the Almighty to preserve the new town from the assaults of the infidels. The cardinal bishops sprinkled the walls with holy water, and at the third gate the pope himself offered up a solemn prayer. The ceremony was concluded with a high mass at St. Peter's; after which Leo distributed among the Roman nobles presents of gold and silver, and costly silken stuffs.[1]

The walls of the Leonine city had not been long commenced when, in 849, the Saracens threatened another attack. Leo IV., to guard against such an invasion, had formed a league with the towns of Amalfi, Naples, and Gaeta, whose vessels had joined the Roman squadron. Scarce had the pope bestowed his blessing on the allied fleet, when on the following day the vessels of the Saracens appeared off Ostia. The allies hastened to the attack, and were gaining the advantage when a terrible storm dispersed the combatants. But many of the Saracen vessels were stranded or captured, and the crews either put to death or made prisoners. The latter

[1] Anastas. n. 534 sq.

were employed in raising the walls of the new town.[1] This battle is also painted by Raffaelle in the same apartment as the "Incendio del Borgo."

Leo IV., besides these works in the city, enclosed Porto with a wall, and replenished its inhabitants with colonists from Corsica. For the inhabitants of Centumcellæ, which had been ruined by the Saracens in 812 and become almost a swamp, he built about twelve miles from that place a new town, called after him Leopolis. It found, however, no favour in their sight, and after a while they returned to their former residence, which, after the building of the new town, had obtained the name of Cività Vecchia. Leo founded at Rome the church of S. Francesca Romana, partly on the site of Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome, besides other churches; and he enriched the Basilicæ of St. Peter and St. Paul with various splendid gifts. It forms no part of our plan to record the visits of emperors and kings to the city of the popes; but it may be mentioned that the Anglo-Saxon king Ethelwolf went thither in the last year of Leo's reign with his son Alfred, then six years of age, and spent there a whole twelvemonth. In the course of this visit Ethelwolf was crowned by Leo IV. Ethelwolf endowed the Holy See, besides other liberalities, with a yearly grant of 300 *mancuses*,[2] two-thirds of which were appropriated to support the lamps at St. Peter's and St. Paul's, while the remaining third went into the pocket of the pope. Ethelwolf is also said to have restored the Anglo-Saxon school.[3]

During the remaining half of the ninth century Rome underwent a few more sieges, but the effects of them on

[1] Anastas. n. 497.

[2] The *mancus* was a silver coin of the value of about half a crown.

[3] Anastas. *Vita Leon. IV.*

the city do not appear to have been important, or at all events the details are unknown. The entry of the Emperor Louis II. with his army in 864 inflicted much damage on the inhabitants, but we do not hear of the monuments having suffered. The same may be said of the surprise of Rome by Lambert, Duke of Spoleto, after the death of Pope Nicholas I. in 867. The invasion of the Saracens in 876 proved highly destructive to the country round Rome; the Campagna was devastated, the farms and vineyards ruined; those peasants who were unable to take shelter within the walls were either killed or carried into slavery. But though the Infidels often menaced the gates of the holy city, they were unable to effect an entry. John VIII., who then occupied the chair of St. Peter, was a vigorous and warlike character, a prototype of Julius II. He fitted out a fleet of galleys, or *dromones*, a name which they still bore as in the time of Belisarius, and, taking the command in person, completely defeated the Saracen fleet off the promontory of Circe.[1] But, in spite of this victory, he found it expedient to buy a peace of the Infidels with a yearly tribute of 25,000 *mancuses*. In 894 the German king Arnulph appeared with an army before Rome at the invitation of Pope Formosus, who had been imprisoned by the Romans in the Castle of S. Angelo. Arnulph's troops assaulted and took the Gate of S. Pancrazio and liberated the pope. Arnulph, who had remained at Ponte Molle, was conducted into Rome the following day by a solemn procession of the clergy and people, among whom we find the Greek school still mentioned.[2]

In the tenth century, a new enemy, the Magyars, or

[1] See Gregorov. B. iii. S. 201.

[2] *Cont. Annal. Fuldens.* p. 411 sq. (Pertz) ap. Papencordt, p. 169.

Hungarians, frequently showed themselves before the gates of Rome and devastated the Campagna, but they do not appear to have penetrated into the city. During the same period Rome sustained several sieges by Hugo of Provence and Otho the Great; the effects of which, however, seem not to have been important, and at all events cannot be determined. Rome was now fast falling into the deepest abyss of political and moral degradation. The papacy had been subjugated by the German emperors, who bestowed the chair of S. Peter on their ministers and favourites. The pope, however, was at this time little more than a name or shadow. The Roman nobles, the captains and great feudatories of the church, wrested from him all his power, and contended for it with one another, and the Vatican and Lateran were often stained with the blood of hostile factions. Sometimes we find the tiara bestowed by two sister courtesans, Marozia and Theodora, sometimes seized by a patrician and converted into a family possession, and sometimes bartered and sold, as by Benedict IX. The papacy, observes Gregorovius,[1] at this period, hitherto an hereditary fief of the Counts of Tusculum, was morally and politically demolished; the temporal dominion, that fatal present of the Carlovingians, the mother of a thousand evils, had vanished; for the church could scarcely command the nearest fortresses in her dominions. A hundred small and greedy barons stood ready to fall upon Rome; all the highways were infested with robbers, the pilgrims were plundered, and the churches lay in ruins, while the priests were wallowing in bacchanalian debauch. Daily assassinations rendered the roads unsafe; nay, the Roman

[1] B. iv. S. 51.

nobles even broke, sword in hand, into St. Peter's, and carried off the gifts which pious hands had laid upon the altar.

In such a state of things there was no body of citizens, no respectable middle class, out of which a constitutional state might be formed. The export trade of Rome was confined to selling the corpses and relics of martyrs, or reputed martyrs, the images of saints, and perhaps a few old codices, the chief purchasers of which were the innumerable pilgrims who resorted to the city. For although Rome was in such a dreadful state of dissolution and anarchy, the idea of it, as the head of Christendom, had still a mighty influence abroad. Thus we find King Canute making a journey thither in 1027, on which occasion he was present at the coronation of Conrad II., and also met Rodolph III., King of Arles, or Burgundy, from which monarchs he obtained a promise of protection for English pilgrims who might pass through their territories.[1] A few years later (1050) Rome appears to have been visited by the Scottish king Macbeth. The trade to which we have alluded seems to have been a most lucrative one. The toe or the finger of a martyr might be a morsel for men of moderate wealth, but none but princes or bishops could afford to purchase a whole skeleton. Thus the catacombs were in those days the El Dorado of the popes, and a watch was constantly kept upon them to prevent their contents from being rifled. The bones of a martyr were the most valuable present that the pontiff could bestow upon a city. On such occasions they were conveyed from Rome in richly ornamented carriages, and escorted

[1] See his letter in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. ii. § 183 (vol. i. p. 308, Hardy).

to some distance from the gates by long processions of monks singing hymns and bearing lighted torches.

If Rome in this period of anarchy can be said to have had a constitution, it must be called an aristocratic republic under the presidency of a head called Senator of all the Romans. But though the Roman nobles claimed the title of senators, and even the female members of their families were sometimes called senatrices, it does not appear that any senate existed as a political body. The nobles laid claim to elect the emperor as well as the pope. The decree of Pope Nicholas II. in 1059, by which the election of a pope was assigned to the college of cardinals, subject only to the approval of the clergy and people, and afterwards to the confirmation of the emperor, was a great help towards the establishment of the papal power. This measure was the work of Hildebrand, the leader of the reform at Rome, who afterwards, as Pope Gregory VII., raised the papacy to an unexampled height. It would exceed, however, both the limits and the scope of this work to attempt to trace the vicissitudes of the papal domination, and we must content ourselves with recording some of the more immediate and striking effects produced on the city of Rome by this portentous struggle between the spiritual and temporal powers.

The excommunication of the Emperor Henry IV. by Gregory VII., and that monarch's humiliation and penance before the haughty pontiff at Canossa, must be regarded as the most extraordinary triumphs of the papacy. But they were not achieved with impunity. The fortunes of the emperor rallied, and after causing Gregory to be deposed by a council held at Pavia in 1081, and Guibert to be appointed in his stead with the title of Clement III., he marched with his army to Rome,

and encamped in the field of Nero, outside the district of the Vatican. This siege, however, as well as another which he attempted in the following spring, proved fruitless. A third siege in 1083 was more successful. The Leonine city was assaulted and taken, June 2nd. But Gregory found a secure refuge in the Castle of S. Angelo, where he held out so long that Henry was again obliged to retire. The indefatigable emperor, however, again appeared on the opposite side of the city in March, 1084, and having effected an entrance through the Porta S. Giovanni, he, in company with the anti-pope, took up his residence in the Lateran. He now caused Clement III. to be recognized as pope by a parliament of the Romans, and on the 31st of March, being Easter-day, he and his consort Bertha were crowned by that pontiff in the Basilica of S. Peter. But, notwithstanding this, Henry was far from being master of Rome. Gregory himself was again safely sheltered in the Castle of S. Angelo, while some of the strongest places in the city were occupied by his adherents. His nephew, Rusticus, held the Cælian and Palatine hills, the Corsi were posted on the Capitol, the Pierleoni on the Tiberine island. These places, however, would perhaps have been ultimately reduced but for the opportune appearance of Robert Guiscard and his Normans, whose assistance Gregory had invoked. Rusticus, after enduring a siege in the Septizonium, by which that building was much damaged and many of its columns overthrown, had been compelled to surrender. The Capitol also had been stormed and taken. But the approach of Guiscard with 30,000 foot and 6,000 horse obliged Henry to retreat. On the 21st of May he departed with Clement III. by the Via Flaminia, having first caused the walls of the Leonine city and the towers

on the Capitol to be destroyed. A few days after Guiscard entered by the Porta Lorenzo and conducted Gregory VII. from the Mole of Hadrian to the Lateran Palace. But a rising of the Romans, who were for the most part of the imperial or Ghibelline faction, induced Guiscard to set fire to the city. This was the most terrible calamity that Rome had suffered for many centuries. A great part of the inhabitants were either killed or enslaved. With regard to the damage done to the city on this occasion, the accounts vary very much. On the whole, however, it cannot be doubted that the destruction was very great, especially about the region of the Lateran. After this catastrophe the Lateran gate obtained the name of Porta Perusta, or the "burnt gate." Flavius Blondus attributes the decay of the city to this fire.[1] The Cælian and Aventine hills ceased to be thickly inhabited, that part of Rome was almost abandoned, and the population pressed more and more towards the Campus Martius. It seems probable, however, that the ancient monuments were not much damaged by this fire. Hildebert, bishop of Tours, who visited Rome a few years after Guiscard's entry, speaks at least of the vast remains which still existed:

> Tantum restat adhuc, tantum ruit, ut neque pars stans
> Æquari possit, diruta nec refici.[2]

Hildebert seems to have been particularly struck during this visit by the beauty of the statues with which the city seems still to have abounded:

> Hic superum formas superi mirantur et ipsi
> Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares.
> Non potuit Natura deos hoc ore creare
> Quo miranda deûm signa creavit homo.[3]

[1] *Hist. Decad.* ii. lib. iii. p. 204.

[2] Hildeberti *Opera*, col. 1335 (ed Paris, 1708).

[3] *Ibid.*

The breathing figures, which could no longer be imitated, appear indeed throughout the middle ages to have been the universal theme of wonder and admiration; whence we often find them connected with the most fantastic legends. Thus the Emperor Julian is said to have been persuaded to return to paganism by the sophistical pleading of a statue of Faunus, which stood near the church of Sta. Maria in Fontana, on the Esquiline.[1] Another legend says that the Romans had consecrated on the Capitol seventy statues representing the nations they had conquered. Each of these statues had on its neck a bell; and when any nation revolted, the figure representing it moved and rang the bell.[2] It seems not improbable that this legend may have been suggested by the bell which Augustus is said to have affixed to the Jupiter Tonans whose temple he founded on the Capitol. The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which now adorns the Capitol, had also its legend. The statue was then commonly assigned to Constantine;[3] but those who pretended to know better affirmed that it was erected in memory of a warrior who, when the city was besieged during the republican times by a powerful king who had come from the East, went forth at midnight, and, guided by the singing of a bird to a place

[1] "Ad S. Mariam in Fontana templum Fauni; quod simulacrum locutum est Juliano, et decepit eum."—*Mirabilia Romæ*, sub fin.

[2] Anonymus Salernitanus, ad ann. 886, ap. Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.* t. iii.

[3] In the middle ages this statue stood near the Lateran. As this Basilica was founded by Constantine, the site was appropriate for a statue supposed to represent him. It was probably placed there by Pope Sergius III. when he re-erected the Lateran, and dedicated it to St. John. Pope John XIII. employed the statue in a singular manner, by hanging on it by the hair a refractory prefect of the city (ann. 966).

which the king frequented, seized him and brought him prisoner to Rome. In like manner the colossal statues supposed to represent the Dioscuri, which now stand on the Quirinal, had also a story attached to them. At the time when the *Mirabilia* was compiled, that is, about the thirteenth century, they were believed to represent two young philosophers, Praxiteles and Pheidias, who came to Rome during the reign of Tiberius, and promised to tell him his most secret words and actions provided he would honour them with a monument. Having performed their promise, they obtained these statues, which represent them naked, because all human science was naked and open to their eyes. From this fable, wild and absurd as it is, we may nevertheless draw the inference that the statues had been handed down from time immemorial as the works of Pheidias and Praxiteles, though those artists had in the lapse of ages been metamorphosed into philosophers. May we not also assume the existence of a tradition that the statues were brought to Rome in the reign of Tiberius? In the middle ages the group appears to have been accompanied by a statue of Medusa, sitting at their feet, and having before her a shell. According to the text of the *Mirabilia*, as given by Montfaucon in his *Diarium Italicum*, this figure represented the Church. The snakes which surrounded her typified the volumes of Scripture, which nobody could approach unless he had been first washed—that is, baptized—in the water of the shell. But the Prague MS. of the *Mirabilia*[1] interprets the female figure to represent Science, and the serpents to typify the disputed questions with which she is concerned.

During these centuries the Romans themselves did

[1] Published by Höfler, in his edition of Papencordt, p. 46.

more damage to the ancient monuments than was occasioned by any foreign enemy, either by taking their materials for building purposes, or by converting them into fortresses. Towards the end of the ninth century, Crescentius, whose aim it was to make himself master of Rome, drove out two popes, John XV. and Gregory V., and fortified himself in the Mausoleum of Hadrian. Cencius, who seems to have been a member of the same family, had in 1070 erected a tower close to the bridge which spans the Tiber here. This tower he filled with his retainers, and demanded toll from all who passed. The Orsini seem to have occupied in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the theatre of Pompey, and to have succeeded the Crescentii at the Mausoleum of Hadrian. The Corsi occupied the Capitol, the Colonnesi the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Baths of Constantine, and so of others. But the most prominent of these families were the Frangipani and the Pierleoni. The Frangipani, whose name is said to have been derived from one of their ancestors having distributed bread among the poor during a famine, appear to be first authentically mentioned in the year 1014. In the twelfth century we find them in possession of a large part of Rome, including the Colosseum and part of the Cælian and Palatine hills,[1] the whole of which was converted into a fortress. The entrance to it was at the Arch of Titus, close to which was erected a strong brick tower, called the Turris Cartularia. Pope Urban II., who was elected at Terracina in 1088, dwelt with John Frangipani in this tower when he came to Rome in 1093. The Pierleoni, the rivals of the Frangipani, were of Jewish

[1] In a bull of Pope Innocent IV., the Colosseum is styled "proprietà della sede Apostolica," and is made over to the Frangipani. Fea, *Diss. sulle Rovine di Roma*, p. 333.

descent. Their fortress was near the present Ghetto, and consisted of the theatres of Marcellus and the Porticus Octavia, with some towers which they had erected near them. At the back they were secured by the Tiber. The memory of this family is still preserved by a street in the neighbourhood called Porta Leoni. The number of such fortresses in Rome and its vicinity may be inferred from the fact that the Bolognese Brancaleone, whom the Romans elected for their senator in 1252 on account of the feuds between the Colonna and Orsini, caused 140 of them to be destroyed.[1] Modern Rome still retains some memorials of them in the names Tor de' Conti, Tor de' Specchi, &c. In the battles which occurred among these rival nobles within the walls of the city respecting the election of a pope or a prefect, in the revolution effected by Arnold of Brescia in 1145, and in other civil commotions, the ancient monuments must no doubt have frequently suffered; but any attempt to trace the damage actually inflicted would be utterly futile.[2] Many ponderous tomes might be consulted for notices; but after all, when the collected heap came to be winnowed, the result would be *nil*, or next to it. We shall therefore endeavour in preference to obtain an idea of the Roman remains at this period from two or three works professedly devoted to the subject.

The works here alluded to seem to have been intended

[1] Matth. Paris. p. 836 (ed. 1684.)

[2] The best accounts of the decay of the city during this period are that of the Abbate Fea, *Dissertazione sulle Rovine di Roma*, appended to the Italian translation of Winckelmann's *Gesch. der Kunst des Alterthums;* the last chapter of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall;* and several chapters in Lord Broughton's *Italy*. But a perusal of these pieces will show how little that is tangible and certain can be said upon the subject.

as guides for pilgrims or other persons visiting Rome; they are, in short, the handbooks of the middle ages. Their contents are chiefly devoted to the ancient monuments, though modern ones are frequently mentioned in connection with them; but the ignorance of the compilers, aggravated by the blunders of copyists, frequently makes strange havoc with the names and sites of the remains. The most ancient and most correct of these works is that of the Anonymus of Einsiedeln; so called because the original MS. was discovered in the Monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland.[1] It is supposed to belong to the age of Charlemagne, and must certainly have been written before the time of Pope Leo IV., since it takes no notice of the Leonine city. This performance, however, is not so much a guide-book as a kind of official description of the Roman regions;[2] in fact, a dry catalogue, after the manner of the *Curiosum*, of certain public buildings and monuments. These monuments, both ancient and modern, are mentioned as they occur to the right or left of a person walking from certain points of the city to other points. The chief routes are from St. Peter's to the church of Sta. Lucia in Orthea—apparently a corruption for Orpheo—a church lying near the fountain of Orpheus on the Esquiline; from St. Peter's to the Porta Salaria; from St. Peter's to the Porta Asinaria; from the Porta Nomentana to the Forum Romanum; from the Porta Flaminia to the Via Lateranensis; from the Porta Tiburtina to the Subura; from the Porta Aurelia to the Porta Prænestina, &c. The ancient monuments mentioned in the course of these routes are: the Circus Flaminius, the Rotunda (or Pan-

[1] It is printed in Mabillon's *Analecta*, p. 364, and more correctly in Haenel's *Archiv für Philologie und Pädagogik*, B. v. S. 115 ff.

[2] It is entitled *Descriptio Regionum Urbis Romæ*.

theon), the Baths of Commodus, the Forum and Column of Trajan, the statue of the Tiber, apparently that known as Marforio,[1] the Capitol, the Umbilicus Romæ, the Arch of Severus, the Baths of Constantine, the equestrian statue of Constantine (by which the author means that of M. Aurelius), the Thermæ Trajanæ and Alexandrinæ, the Antonine column, the Minervium, the Thermæ Sallustianæ and Diocletianæ, the Claudian aqueduct and Forma Virginis, the Forum Romanum, the Flavian amphitheatre (the author does not appear to know, or refuses to recognize, the name of Colosseum), the theatre of Pompey, the arch of Titus and Vespasian, the arch of Constantine, the Meta Sudans, the Caput Africæ, the Thermæ Antoninianæ (Caracalla's baths), the Circus Maximus, the Septizonium, whence there appears to have been a portico extending to the church of Sta. Anastasia. The porticoes about the Via Lata, or modern Corso, appear also to have been extant; so that our author could walk through them from the church of St. Silvester—apparently that near the Via della Vite—to the Antonine column; and again from that column, or near it, to the church of the Twelve Apostles.

It is evident that this list does not exhaust the monuments which must have been at least partly extant in

[1] This celebrated colossal statue, well known as the vehicle for replies to the satires of Pasquin, stood, or rather reclined, in the middle ages, before the Mamertine prison, and gave name to the neighbouring ascent, the Salita di Marforio. It may now be seen in the court of the Capitoline Museum. It seems probable, as Herr Gregorovius thinks (B. iii. S. 570, Anm.), that the name of the statue was derived rather from a corruption of *Mavors* than from Martis Forum. For though the Forum of Augustus contained a temple of Mars Ultor, it does not appear to have been ever called Forum Martis.

the time of the Anonymus, since several are omitted which may be seen at the present day, as the theatre of Marcellus, the Basilica of Constantine, the Temple of Venus and Rome, the column of Phocas, the Temples of Saturn, Concord, and other objects. This, however, affords a strong presumption that all the monuments which the author does mention were then actually extant.[1] It is probable that a few may be concealed under corrupt or fanciful names; and thus the Arcus Recordationis, for instance, may possibly be the Arch of Drusus. But though the list is not exhaustive, it contains the names of many monuments, some of them very important ones, of which at present not a trace is to be found: as the Circus Flaminius, the Baths of Commodus, of Sallust, Trajan, and Alexander, the theatre of Pompey, the Septizonium, and various porticoes. It is evident, therefore, that in the ninth century comparatively large remains of ancient Rome were still extant; but it is unfortunate that our author does not mention their condition; and we can hardly doubt that most of them were in a ruinous state.

It is still more provoking that the Anonymus, although in his collection of inscriptions he gives some that still existed on the Capitol, only cursorily mentions that object in his routes, without describing its state, or dropping the slightest hint which might lead us to determine the site of the Capitoline temple. The same complaint attaches to later works of the same kind, the

[1] Montfaucon was of opinion that the Anonymus Einsiedlensis mentioned only existing monuments. See his *Analecta*, *Monitum*, p. 358. That the theatre of Pompey must have been at least partially extant appears from the fact that the Anonymus gives an inscription in it (*Inscrip.* No. 50) recording its restoration by Arcadius and Honorius.

Graphia aureæ urbis Romæ, and the *Mirabilia Romæ;* though these, indeed, from their greater fulness of context, afford a somewhat better clue to the researches of the topographer. How little can be done for the investigation of this perplexing question through the notices afforded by the middle ages is evident from the treatment of it by Herr Gregorovius. This gentleman gives no decided opinion with regard to this much-agitated point; but he evidently inclines to the German theory, which places the temple on Monte Caprino, or the south-western summit. But all that he can produce in support of this theory are the names of two churches, viz. Sta. Caterina sub Tarpeio, and S. Salvator in Maximis.[1] The first of these instances is nothing to the purpose, unless it can be certainly shown that the Tarpeian rock was at Monte Caprino. The notice of the other church appears to be taken from an anonymous writer on the antiquities of the city in the time of Pope Eugene IV. (1431—1439). It runs thus: "S. Salvatoris in Maximis in Capitolio ubi Jovis templum;" and the church itself is asserted to have stood *on* Monte Caprino till the year 1587.[2] It is singular, however, that in a list of all the Roman churches contained in a MS. of the fourteenth century, preserved in the university library at Turin, and published by Höfler in his edition of Papencordt's work, the name of this church does not appear at all on the Capitoline Hill, but further to the south.[3] And this is confirmed by a passage of

[1] *Gesch. der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, B. iv. S. 445.

[2] "Diese Kirche stand bis 1587 auf Monte Caprino gegen die Montanara hin."—*Ibid.* Anm. 2.

[3] The name appears in the district called SS. Cosma e Damiano, one of three regions into which Rome appears to have been divided for ecclesiastical purposes. The churches are enumerated in their

Lucius Faunus, which mentions the church *at the foot* of the hill.[1] Wherefore, as the region of the Circus Maximus extended towards the Capitoline, and appears to have included the Velabrum, it seems probable that the church took its name from the region, and had no reference to any temple.

We are of opinion that a much more decisive testimony with regard to the site of the Capitoline temple may be extracted from the *Mirabilia Romæ*. In the description of the Capitol in that work we read: "Capitolium ideo dicitur, quia fuit caput totius mundi," &c. Then, after the story about the statues with bells, which we have already related, it proceeds: "erant enim et ibi plura templa; nam in summitate arcis super porticum crinorum fuit templum Jovis et Monetæ," &c. &c. So much for one summit of the hill; the author then proceeds to describe the other as follows: "Ex *alia parte* Capitolii *supra Canaparam* templum Junonis." Here, then, we have two summits of the hill distinctly specified, one overhanging the Porticus Crinorum, whatever that may be, the other overhanging, or standing

order as they occur. Those near or on the Capitol are specified as follows: S. Adrian, S. Martina (at the eastern foot of the Capitol), S. Sergius and Bacchus (on the site of the Temple of Concord), Sta. Maria de Ara Celi, Sta. Maria in Cannapara (the south-western summit of the Capitoline: see next note but one), Sta. Maria in Inferno (Sta. Maria Liberatrice, the title of which was "Sta. Maria libera nos a pœnis inferni"), S. Theodore (under the Palatine), S. Giorgio in Velabro. Then, after several others in this direction, S. Salvator de Maximis. Papencordt, *Stadt Rom*, S. 56.

[1] "Quare multis post annis ad hujus collis radices S. Salvatoris cognomento in Maximis appellatum (templum) constat."—*Ant. Urb. Romæ*, lib. ii. c. 4. This work was published in 1548; hence a direct contradiction to the assertion that the church stood on the hill in 1587. Indeed, the words of Faunus seem to imply that the church was not extant at all in his time.

upon the Cannapara; and the question arises, which was the north-eastern summit and which the south-western? Herr Gregorovius solves this himself by stating that the Cannapara lay under Monte Caprino,[1] from which it follows that the Temple of Juno stood on the south-western summit. The temple on the north-eastern height is called indeed in the *Mirabilia* "Templum Jovis *et Monetæ*." But this has no meaning. The Temple of Juno Moneta had no statue but of herself. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on the other hand, had, besides the image of Jove, one of Juno, but not Moneta, and another of Minerva. That by the "Templum Jovis et Monetæ" the author of the *Mirabilia* meant the great temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, is confirmed by a passage of the *Graphia*, cited by Gregorovius, where it is called by the same name; but some further characteristics are added which show that nothing but the great temple of the Capitoline Jupiter could have been meant. "In *summitate arcis*, super porticum crinorum, fuit templum Jovis et Monetæ, in quo erat aurea statua Jovis, sedens in aureo trono."[2] The golden statue and the golden throne, at that time of course only matters of tradition, could have belonged to

[1] "Weiterhin die Canapara, und das Forum Olitorium, der heutige Platz Montanara."—B. iv. S. 442. We think, however, that Cannapara was the name of the south-western summit itself. Thus, the Italian editor of the *Mirabilia* observes:—"*Cannaparia* o *Cannapara* nomavasi quella parte del Campidoglio che sovrasta all' ospedale della Consolazione e sue adiacenze, siccome rilevasi dalla bolla dell' Anti-papa Anacleto ii. riferita dal Padre Casimiro nella Storia di S. Maria di Araceli. In tal caso il Tempio di Giunone qui nominato è quello stesso di Moneta del quale poc' anzi fecesi menzione." See the edition of the *Mirabilia* in the *Effemeridi Letterarie di Roma*, 1820; reprint, 1864, p. 61.

[2] *Graphia*, ap. Ozanam, *Documents Inédits*, p. 165.

no other temple than the splendid one of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

In opposition, therefore, to the somewhat late anonymous writer adduced by Herr Gregorovius, the tradition of the earlier middle ages, as represented by the *Graphia* and *Mirabilia*, favour the opinion that the Capitoline temple stood on the height of Ara Celi. But in fact we consider these mediæval traditions worth very little, and we will therefore give the supporters of the German theory the benefit of the following passage in the *Graphia:* "There are three public prisons: one *under the Capitol* (by which is meant the carcer near the Church of St. Nicholas and Theatre of Marcellus); the second, the Mamertine prison; and the third, beyond the Appian Gate, near the Temple of Mars."[1] Here "sub Capitolio" only means "under the Capitoline Hill," for the Mirabilia, in enumerating the hills, calls it *Capitolium*. We will now proceed to a more general examination of the two works just mentioned.

The treatise entitled *Graphia aureæ urbis Romæ*[2] is evidently a compilation of anomalous materials at various intervals. In this view both Gregorovius and Ozanam, the editor of the *Graphia*, agree.[3] But as to the period over which the compilation extends, they entertain widely different opinions. That parts of it are of a later

[1] "Tria sunt privata publica: unum sub Capitolio; alterum privata Mamertini; tertium foris portam Appiam juxta templum Martis."—*Graphia*, p. 160. The passage does not occur in the *Mirabilia*.

[2] First published by Ozanam, from a MS. of the 13th or 14th century in the Laurentian library at Florence, among his *Documents Inédits pour servir à l'Histoire littéraire de l'Italie depuis le 8me Siècle jusqu'au 13me*. Paris, 1850.

[3] See *Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, B. iii. S. 554, and Ozanam's introductory *Notice*.

date than the middle of the twelfth century can indeed admit of no dispute, since it mentions the tomb of Pope Anastasius IV., who died in 1154. The question as to how far it reaches back presents more difficulty. The last part of it, which describes the ceremonial for the reception of an emperor, the naming of a patrician, &c., Gregorovius refers to the time of Otho II. or III. (973 to the end of the century); whilst Ozanam, we think with more probability, assigns it to the time of the Greek emperors, and consequently to a period earlier than the middle of the eighth century, when the connection between Rome and Constantinople was broken off. We think that Ozanam's view is supported by the many Greek names of persons and things, though written with Latin letters, that occur in this part of the treatise, which would hardly have been used under the German emperors; and also by the nature of the ceremonial enjoined. Take for instance the explanation of the term *Monocrator*, or Emperor: "Monocrator appellatur a singularitate. Monos namque, grece, latine dicitur unus et singularis. Crator, grece, latine princeps." What possible use could there have been for such explanations in connection with the German Cæsars? Nor can we believe that one of these emperors would have put on a chlamys, or a Dalmatica diarrhodina, and other extravagant dresses, crowns, and other ornaments described in this ceremonial; or that he would have been accompanied by eunuchs, or have required the people to bow down their heads before him to the ground. All these things bespeak the despotic and oriental manners of the Byzantine court; and even the very name of the book, *Graphia*, shows it to have had a Greek origin.

The *Graphia* consists of three parts: a sort of historical

introduction; a description of the city and its monuments, which in the main coincides with the *Mirabilia*, but with many remarkable deviations; and the imperial ritual to which we have already alluded. The introductory part recounts the origin of Rome in a series of absurd legends, in which Scripture is mixed up with the heathen mythology. After the confusion of tongues at Babel, Noah is said to have passed into Italy, and to have founded a city named after himself, at a spot not far from Rome. Janus, who is made the son of Noah, with a grandson of the same name, the son of Japhet, and Cames,[1] an aboriginal, built soon after, on the other side of the Tiber, a palace called Janiculum; while Nimrod, who is identified with Saturn, fortified the Capitol. Other personages of the heathen mythology are then introduced, but in strange confusion. Italus, at the head of a body of Syracusans, is related to have built a city on the Albula, or Tiber, which he called after himself. The construction of no fewer than seven cities at or near the same spot is then recorded—namely, an Argive city named Valentia under the Capi-

[1] Cames is also mentioned by Macrobius (*Sat.* i. c. 7) as an indigenous prince or hero, who founded the Janiculum. May he be the same personage as Camens, represented by Virgil (*Æn.* x. 562) as king of Amyclæ, and the greatest proprietor of land among the Ausonians? Several of the Italian cities claimed an origin from the sons of Noah. Thus Milan traced its foundation to Subres, a grandson of Japhet; Tubal, son of Japhet, was said to have built Ravenna; Florence ascribed its foundation to Jupiter, son of Ham, who came to Europe with his wife Electra, and his astrologer Apollo, and built on the hill of Fiesole the first city in the world! Ozanam, *Documents Inédits*, p. 85 sq. According to the same author, there still exists in the communal palace at Viterbo a picture representing Noah landing on the coast of Italy, and dividing the land among his sons.

toline Hill; a city erected by Tibris, an aboriginal, near the river of the same name; one on the Palatine, by the Arcadian Evander; one in the valley, by Coribam, king of the Sacrani; one by Glaucus, a descendant of Jove; one by the daughter of Æneas, on the Palatine; a palace and mausoleum by Aventinus Silvius, king of Alba, on the Aventine; lastly, after the destruction of Troy, Romulus, a descendant of Priam, included all these cities in a wall, and called the new one thus created Rome, after himself. Nearly all the nobles of the earth, with their wives and children, came to dwell there—Etrurians, Sabines, Albans, Tusculans, Politanenses, Telenenses, Ficanes, Janiculenses, Camerinenses, Falisci, Lucani, and Itali!

One sees what may be expected from the learning and judgment of such an author. Nevertheless, if he and the compiler of the *Mirabilia*, a book only less absurd because it is less long, had merely professed to tell us of the Roman monuments, what they themselves saw, we might have formed some idea of the state of Rome in the twelfth or thirteenth century, in spite of the extravagant legends which they have inserted. Unfortunately, however, they do not confine themselves to this, but pretend, so far as their barbarous Latin is intelligible, to give a description of Pagan Rome, such as it existed in the time of the Republic and Empire;[1] and we have consequently no means of knowing, in their

[1] "Hæc et alia multa templa et palatia Imperatorum, Consulum, Senatorum, Prefectorumque tempore Paganorum (or Dictatorum) in hac Romæ urbe fuere, sicut in priscis annalibus legimus, et oculis nostris vidimus, et ab antiquis audivimus. Quantæ essent pulcritudinis auri, argenti, æris, eboris ac pretiosorum lapidum, scriptis ad posterum memoriam melius reducere curavimus."—*Graphia*, ap. Ozanam, p. 171. The *Mirabilia* has a similar passage *sub fin.*

enumeration of the monuments, what were actually in existence, and what were mentioned only from former works and from tradition.

A few more specimens will serve to show how little the books we are noticing can be relied on. Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome was considered to be the Temple of Romulus, and the two cells in it were thought to be dedicated to Piety and Concord. In this temple Romulus was said to have placed a golden statue of himself, with the affirmation, "It shall not fall till a virgin brings forth." As soon as the Virgin Mary gave birth to Christ, the statue fell.[1] The Arch of Severus was called the Arch of Julius Cæsar and the Senators, which seems to show that the inscription on it must have been at that time hidden by buildings on or near the arch;[2] and indeed in Montfaucon's edition of the *Mirabilia* we read that it was then occupied by towers called De Bratis.[3] Vespasian's and Titus' Temple of Peace is said to be "juxta Lateranum;"[4] while in another passage we find it indicated in the right place but under a wrong name.[5] But it would be needless to multiply

[1] "Arcus Vespasiani et Titi, ad Sanctam Mariam Novam, inter Pallantem (Pallanteum, the Virgilian name for the Palatine) et templum Romuli."—*Graphia*, p. 157. "In Palatio Romuli sunt duæ ædes Pietatis et Concordiæ, ubi Romulus posuit statuam suam auream, dicens: Non cadet donec virgo pariat. Statim ut Virgo Maria peperit, illa corruit."—*Ibid.* 158.

[2] "Arcus Julii Cæsaris et Senatorum inter ædem Concordiæ et Templum Fatale" (the Temple of Janus).—*Graphia*, p. 157.

[3] "Arcus Julii Cæsaris et Senatorum ante S. Martinam, ubi modo sunt turres de Bratis."—*Mirabilia*, p. 18, where the word *Senatorum* shows that tradition placed the Curia at S. Martina.

[4] *Graphia*, p. 160.

[5] "In ecclesia S. Cosmatis est templum asilum. Retro fuit templum Pacis et Latonæ."—*Ibid.* p. 167.

instances to show how untrustworthy, for the most part, are these topographical guides.

The *Ordo* of the Canon Benedict (*Ordo Romanus XI.*), describing the route from St. Peter's to the Lateran taken by the procession of the pope after his coronation, in which the more striking ancient monuments were purposely visited,[1] also affords a glimpse of them during the middle ages. This *Ordo* is addressed to Guido di Castello, who afterwards became Pope Celestine, and must, therefore, have been written before the year 1143.[2] The procession, which formed a sort of papal triumph, was commonly called Il Possesso, and the route taken was named "Sacra Via," like the sacerdotal road in ancient Rome. The pageant was repeated every year on the second holiday after Easter Sunday.[3]

When mass was ended at St. Peter's, the pope was crowned in front of that Basilica. Here he mounted his horse with a crown on his head, and returned to the Palace of the Lateran by the following "Sacra Via:" through the portico, over Hadrian's bridge, and under the triumphal arch of Theodosius, Valentinian, and Gratian, to the Palace of Chromatius,[4] where the Jews

[1] Gregorovius (B. iv. S. 614, Anm. 2) thinks that the serpentine line taken by the procession was adopted because the direct route was encumbered with rubbish. But the evident intention was to visit the most remarkable ancient monuments extant.

[2] See Mabillon, *Musæum Ital.* t. ii. p. 125 sqq.

[3] See Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenni Possessi de' sommi Pontefici*, c. iii. § 4, p. 10 (Roma, 1802). The necessary extract from the *Ordo* will also be found in this work, and in Fea's *Dissertazione, &c.* According to Mabillon (ap. Cancellieri, p. 1), the first coronation of a pope was that of Leo III. in 795.

[4] The *Graphia* places this palace "ad S. Stephanum in Piscina," p. 170. Parts of this palace were discovered when the Church of S. Sebastian in the Via S. Lucia was pulled down. *Beschr. der Stadt Rom.* B. iii. 3, S. 84.

saluted him with a song of praise (faciunt laudem); then through the district called Parione between the Circus of Alexander (Piazza Navona) and the Theatre of Pompey, turning then to the Portico of Agrippina (apparently the Pantheon), so through the place or region called Pinea (Rione Pigna), near the Palatine;[1] then passing in front of St. Mark's (adjoining the present Palazzo di Venezia), the procession passed through the arch called Manus Carneæ, ascended the Clivus Argentarius, between the insula of the same name and the Capitol (the Salita di Marforio),[2] descending before the Mamertine prison. The pope then passed through the triumphal arch (that of Severus), which lies between the Templum Fatale (the Temple of Janus) and the Temple of Concord; whence, proceeding between the Forum of Trajan and that of Cæsar, he passed through the Arch of Nerva, between the Temple of Minerva and that of Janus.[3] He then proceeded along the paved road before the Asylum—it is impossible to say what may be meant by this evidently wild conjecture—

[1] According to Gregorovius, B. iv. S. 613, a place anciently called *ad Pallacenas*, near St. Mark's.

[2] By the *insula* must be meant the place where the Basilica Argentaria once stood. Observe here the north-eastern summit of the Capitoline hill called *Capitol.* The "Arcus Manus Carneæ" cannot be identified with any certainty, but the *Mirabilia* seems to attribute it to Antoninus. The *Graphia* explains its name by the following legend:—The Emperor Diocletian had ordered Sta. Lucia to be beaten to death here with rods. The man who beat her was turned into stone; but his hand has remained flesh to the present day! P. 158.

[3] The text has "subintrat arcum Nerviæ," which is plainly an error for "Nervæ." The Forum Transitorium of Nerva adjoined that of Cæsar; and it appears from this passage that the archway between them was extant in the 12th century. But Benedict has evidently confounded the Emperor Nerva with the goddess *Mi*nerva. We

where Simon Magus fell close to the Temple of Romulus;[1] then through the triumphal arch of Titus and Vespasian, or, as it is called, of the Seven Candlesticks; descending thence to the Meta Sudans, in front of the triumphal arch of Constantine, and turning to the left before the Amphitheatre, the procession returned to the Lateran by the Sancta Via, or Holy Way, close to the Colosseum.

As the *Ordo* of Benedict is an official programme, we may be sure that the objects which it mentions were in existence; and thus, so far as it goes, it is a more trustworthy guide than the *Graphia* or *Mirabilia* as to the state of the Roman monuments in the twelfth century; though, like the *Descriptio Regionum* of the Anonymus of Einsiedeln, it is not exhaustive, and mentions only those which occur on a certain route. We may gather from it that, in addition to the monuments which we still see, the following ones at least were then in existence: the triumphal arch of Theodosius, Valentinian, and Gratian; the stadium of Domitian (or at least some remains of it), which seems then to have borne the name of the Circus of Alexander, possibly from some restorations by Alexander Severus; the theatre of Pompey, though doubtless in ruins, the very site of which is now uncertain; an arch under the north-west side of the Capitol; the little Temple of Janus, or at all events

have seen that Domitian, whose Forum it really was, erected here a Temple of Minerva, and also a Temple of Janus (see above, p. 276), quite distinct from the little bronze Temple of Janus. These are the two temples which Benedict intends to specify.

[1] Gregorovius (B. i. S. 614, Anm.), rejecting here both the conjecture of Becker that by this is meant the Ædes Penatium, and that of Bunsen, that the Temple of Venus and Rome is intended, thinks that the Basilica Constantini is meant. But I have already shown that at this time, as Bunsen assumes, the Temple of Venus and Rome passed for that of Romulus.

some memorial of the spot where it stood; remains of the fora of Cæsar and Nerva, with the arch leading into the last; Domitian's Temple of Minerva (near the *Colonnacce*), and his Janus Quadrifrons, or archway with four gates.

Gibbon, in the last chapter of his great work, has enumerated the four following causes of the decay of the Roman monuments: 1, the injuries of time and nature; 2, the hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians; 3, the use and abuse of the materials; 4, the domestic quarrels of the Romans. That the lapse of time alone, unaided by the natural phenomena of hurricanes, earthquakes, fires, and inundations, would have had but little effect, is evident from the fine state of preservation of some of the Roman monuments after a period of near 2,000 years. Earthquakes and hurricanes, though not of a very destructive kind, have no doubt sometimes occurred at Rome; but it would be impossible precisely to indicate any damage to the ancient monuments which they might have occasioned. The most destructive earthquake recorded is that of the year 1349, mentioned by Petrarch in his letters.[1] But the damage which he particularizes was confined to comparatively modern buildings: the Tor de' Conti, the church of St. Paul, and the roof of the Lateran. The ruin of the south side of the Colosseum has indeed been sometimes attributed to this earthquake, but it does not appear that this opinion rests on any satisfactory authority. Tremendous overflowings of the Tiber are recorded in the time of Gregory the Great, in the seventh and eighth centuries, in 1345, in 1530, and other years. One which occurred in 791 is said to have carried away

[1] Lib. x. ep. 2.

the Flaminian gate, and borne it a long way up the city.[1] But inundations would act only on the low-lying parts of Rome near the Tiber, and even here they would be powerless against the nobler and more solid structures. The Mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian, the Pantheon, the theatre of Marcellus, the Janus at the Forum Boarium, and even the Arch of the Goldsmiths, and the two little temples now converted into the churches of Sta. Maria del Sole and Sta. Maria Egiziaca, which are of no great strength, and stand close to the brink of the Tiber, have survived all the overflowings of that river. Fire would be a more destructive element, and when the city was in a tolerably perfect state it doubtless occasioned some damage: but in the middle ages, when only the more solid monuments had survived, and when these had become in a great measure isolated from other buildings, the risk from fire would have constantly diminished.

We agree with Gibbon in thinking that the barbarians, however they may have plundered Rome, did comparatively little damage to its monuments. When we consider the state of their engineering science, how often they fruitlessly besieged Rome, where they seldom effected an entry except through treachery and stratagem, we may confidently infer that, even admitting they had been inclined to destroy the buildings, they would not have wantonly undertaken a task which, before the use of gunpowder, must have presented enormous difficulties and demanded much labour. The charges against the barbarians are for the most part couched in vague and general terms, and many of them are evident exaggerations: as when Pope Gelasius says that "Alaric

[1] Anastas. *Vit. Adriani*, § 356.

overturned the city;" when Cassiodorus, and after him Philostorgius, says that *most* of the wonders of Rome were burnt, &c.[1] If we analyze these accounts, we find only three specific cases of damage to the ancient monuments: the burning of the house of Sallust near the Salarian gate by Alaric; the stripping of the gilt tiles from the Capitoline Temple by Genseric; and the destruction of the aqueducts by Vitiges. The second instance shows that the barbarian conquerors cared only for such objects as were of marketable value. The destruction of the aqueducts was a mere strategical act for the purpose of forcing the city to surrender; and though its effect was to cause the ruin of the baths, Vitiges cannot be justly charged with having maliciously sought that result.

We cannot agree with Gibbon in thinking that "the most potent and forcible cause of destruction was the domestic hostilities of the Romans themselves." This cause he finds in the custom of the nobles of erecting their towers on the ancient temples and arches. But before the use of gunpowder, or even after, the attack of a fortress was very far from implying its total destruction. The fortification, if it could be taken at all, was generally carried by assault and scaling. The very number of these towers during the middle ages, not only in Rome, but also in other Italian cities, and indeed through a great part of Europe, proves how impregnable they were. At Rome, the same fortresses seem to have remained in the possession of the same families for several generations. Hence, in spite of the battering-rams and enormous stones which we read of as being employed in this domestic warfare, we are inclined to

[1] See the passages collected by Lord Broughton, *Italy*, vol. i. ch. 9. Lord Broughton has very carefully investigated the causes of the destruction of Roman monuments.

adopt, what may seem a very paradoxical opinion, that the appropriation of the ancient monuments by the nobles, and the conversion of them into strongholds, rather tended, on the whole, to their preservation. It saved them from neglect and decay, from pillage and appropriation for the sake of their building materials, or the lime which they afforded. An argument in confirmation of this view may be adduced from the fact that nearly all the monuments which Gibbon mentions as having been converted into fortresses are among the best preserved. The "triumphal monument of Julius Cæsar" is, as we have seen, no other than the arch of Septimius Severus. The arch of Titus is in a very tolerable state of preservation, although it formed part of the fortress of the Frangipani; and the same may be said of the Colosseum, which was included in their *enceinte*. The Colosseum probably came into the possession of the Frangipani in the eleventh century. In the following century we find them sheltering two popes in it, Innocent II. and Alexander III. About the middle of the thirteenth century, the Frangipani were driven out by the Annibaldi, who held it to 1312; after which it appears to have again become the property of the State. The defective portions of that building were not knocked down by battering-rams, but were most probably carried off peaceably and leisurely to build modern palaces and churches. Nothing can impress us with a stronger idea of this magnificent structure, than the fact that some of the finest palaces in Rome were built out of a small part of its materials. The arch of Antoninus, if it ever existed, has certainly disappeared, but in what manner is unknown. The Mole of Hadrian, which has endured more sieges than any fortress in Rome, still subsists. The Septizonium of Severus, which, as

Gibbon observes, "was capable of standing against a royal army," survived to be pulled down by Pope Sixtus V. The sepulchre of Metella, which the historian describes as having "sunk under its outworks," is still standing. Of the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus, the strongholds of the Savelli and Ursini families, the former has vanished, but a good portion of the latter exists. But the theatre of Pompey can hardly have been destroyed by a siege; and out of the whole list of monuments mentioned by Gibbon, there is not one the destruction of which can with any certainty be referred to such a cause.

We are therefore inclined to think that to Gibbon's third cause, the use and abuse of the materials, the destruction of the Roman monuments must principally be attributed. Under this head we include the destruction of the pagan temples and monuments through the zeal of the early Roman Christians, the conversion of them into churches by the emperors and popes, the appropriation of the materials either for building purposes, or for making lime; as well as the removal of buildings for what was considered to be the improvement of the city. We do not mean to deny that all the causes enumerated by Gibbon may, in a greater or less degree, have contributed to the destruction of the Roman monuments. We only mean to assert that by far the most destructive cause was the use, or abuse, of the materials, and that the Romans were the principal demolishers of their own city. This spoliation was at least as early as the time of Constantine, who robbed an Arch of Trajan to deck his own, and even carried off some objects to Byzantium. After the introduction of Christianity at Rome, pagan temples suffered through neglect, as well as through the violence of the Christians. An exulting

passage of St. Jerome paints in lively colours their state in the fourth century. "The once golden Capitol is now squalid. All the Roman temples are covered with soot and cobwebs; and an overflowing population rushes past the half-demolished shrines to repair to the tombs of the martyrs."[1] The early Christians were prompted both by religion and economy to convert the pagan temples into churches. Fabricius, in his *Description of Rome*, mentions fifty-eight churches which had been erected on sites where temples had previously stood.[2] In such cases even their very names were for the most part obliterated by those given to the new structures.

The process of spoliation, conversion, and destruction was pursued by the emperors and the popes, and even by private individuals. We read of a widow making a present of eight columns, belonging to a ruined temple on the Quirinal, to the Emperor Justinian, for the church of Sta. Sophia at Constantinople.[3] From this anecdote we may conclude that pieces of ground containing very considerable ancient ruins were liable to come into the possession of private individuals, who might dispose of the remains as caprice or cupidity dictated. The edicts frequently promulgated by the emperors forbidding the destruction of the ancient monuments show that the practice was common. The lead, iron, and bronze were frequently extracted by common pilferers; a practice which hastened the decay of the structures. The emperors always claimed a property in the public buildings of Rome, and in this respect the popes appear to have become their heirs.

[1] *Epist.* vii. *ad Lætam* (Ep. 57, ed. Benedict).

[2] Fabricius, *Descrip. Romæ*, c. ix. ap. Græv. *Ant. Rom.* t. iii. p 419 sqq.

[3] Fea, *Dissertazione, &c.* p. 302, note.

We have already mentioned that the sanction of Phocas was obtained for the conversion of the Pantheon into a Christian church. Amongst instances of spoliation by emperors and popes, we hear of Heraclius granting to Pope Honorius the bronze tiles either on the Temple of Venus and Rome, or on that assigned to Romulus, for the roof of St. Peter's.[1] Charlemagne carried off many columns from Rome to decorate his Basilica at Aix-la-Chapelle.[2] During the dark ages, the Roman people, after the establishment of a popular and senatorial government in 1144, appear to have had a much greater veneration than their magistrates for the ancient monuments. By a decree of the senate and people in 1162, it was ordained that death and confiscation should be the penalties for any injury wantonly inflicted on the column of Trajan. But this good example did not become a precedent, or, at all events, was not extended to other monuments. The column of Trajan belonged at that time to the nuns of S. Ciriacus, while that of M. Aurelius was attached to the convent of S. Sylvester.[3] Otto, senator of Rome, about the middle of the fourteenth century, granted the marble of a temple on the Quirinal for the steps forming the ascent to the church of Araceli. The following are some of the more prominent instances, collected by Lord Broughton, of the appropriation by the popes of ancient materials to modern buildings or other acts of destruction[4]:—Gregory III. transferred nine columns from some ancient building to St. Peter's. Adrian I., in order to enlarge the church of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin,

[1] Anastas. *Hon.* sub init.

[2] See the authorities cited by Gibbon, ch. lxxi. note 30.

[3] Fea, *Dissertazione*, p. 355, sq.; Gregorov. B. iv. S. 641.

[4] *Italy*, ch. ix.

pulled down a building of Tiburtine stone of such vast dimensions that the labour of a great number of men was employed a whole year in demolishing it. In more modern times, Paul II. (Pietro Barbo) built a palace out of the stones of the Colosseum. The same structure served as an inexhaustible quarry to Paul III. (Farnese) and his nephews. Paul III. also contributed to the destruction of the theatre of Marcellus, Trajan's Forum, the temple of Faustina, and other buildings. Sixtus IV. (della Rovere) demolished an ancient temple near Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, the remains of a bridge, and the tomb of the Domitii, near the present Porta del Popolo: the burial-place of Nero.[1] Alexander VI. (Borgia) demolished a pyramid to make way for a gallery between the Vatican and S. Angelo. The same pyramid had been stripped of its marble many centuries before by Pope Donus I. Sixtus V. (Peretti) demolished the remains of the Septizonium and used them at St. Peter's, besides destroying other buildings. Urban VIII. (Barberini) stripped the portico of the Pantheon of its bronze, and carried off part of the base of the tomb of Cecilia Metella to construct the Fontana Trevi. Paul V. (Borghese) placed the only remaining column of the Temple of Peace before the Basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore, and took for his fountain on the Janiculum the entablature and pediment of a building in the Forum of Nerva. The last vestiges of the Circus Maximus seem also to have been removed in the time of Paul V. From the instances given, to which many more might be added, it is hardly too much to assume

[1] Domitian was buried in the temple, or mausoleum, of the Flavian family (Suet. *Domit.* 17), which, as we have seen, lay on the Quirinal (above, p. 275). Nero was buried on the Pincian Hill, in the tomb of the *Domitii* (above, p. 258).

that the columns and marbles which adorn the Roman churches are for the most part spoils of ancient temples and other structures. The last act of spoliation committed by a pope appears to be the pulling down of an ancient arch in the Corso, at the Palazzo Fiano, by Alexander VII. (Chigi, 1655-1667). From bas-reliefs preserved in the Palazzo de' Conservatori, it appears to have been an arch of M. Aurelius.

Besides the appropriation of the materials of ancient monuments to new structures, another fatal cause of destruction was the practice of converting them into lime. Flavio Biondo, the earliest author who wrote a book on the antiquities of Rome, in the first half of the fifteenth century, complains that when he saw vineyards existing on the former sites of magnificent buildings, the square Tiburtine stones of which had been reduced to lime, he felt inclined to loathe Rome as a residence.[1] Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., in a poem addressed to Bartolommeo Roverella, makes a similar complaint:

> Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas,
> Ex cujus lapsu gloria prisca patet.
> Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis
> Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit.
> Impia tercentum si sic gens egerit annos,
> Nullum huic indicium nobilitatis erit.[2]

About the same period, or rather earlier, Manuel Chrysoloras, in a letter to John Palæologus in which he institutes a comparison between modern and ancient Rome, adverts to the same deplorable practice, and remarks that the city seemed to live on itself and to be nourished by its own destruction.[3] The Florentine Poggio, whose

[1] *Roma Instaurata*, lib. iii. p. 33.

[2] Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. i. p. 95.

[3] *αὐτὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς τρέφεσθαι καὶ ἀνάλωσθαι.*—*Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην βασιλέα*, p. 109 (Paris, 1655).

treatise *De Varietate Fortunæ*, describing the ruins of Rome, was written just before the death of Pope Martin V. in 1430, complains that the whole Temple of Concord, which, when he first came to Rome, was almost entire, had been reduced to lime within his memory.[1] If this process was carried on at so fearful a rate, it is easy to infer how great must have been the destruction from it. The same destructive process was continued at least down to the time of Pope Leo X. Castiglione, or rather Raphael, in a letter to that pontiff on the state of Rome, complains that monuments had been destroyed by the popes; that their foundations had been undermined to procure *pozzolano;* that modern Rome was almost entirely composed of the remains of ancient marble; that many monuments had disappeared during the twelve years he had lived in the city; as an obelisk in the Via Alessandrina, an unfortunate arch, and many columns and temples. The chief perpetrator of all this mischief was a certain M. Bartolommeo della Rovere.[2]

After this enumeration it will hardly perhaps be denied that the Romans themselves, their emperors, popes, and magistrates, were by very far the principal destroyers of Rome; and that not by their civil wars, but by their works in time of peace.

Poggio has fortunately left us in the treatise before cited a description of the Roman ruins as they existed in his time; from which it appears that they were not much more than what may still be seen. He sat down to contemplate them among the fragments of the Tar-

[1] "Romani postmodum ad calcem ædem totam et porticus partem, disjectis columnis, sunt demoliti."—Ap. Sallengre, *Nov. Thesaur.* t. i. p. 505 A.

[2] *Lettere* di Castiglione, p. 150: Passavant, *Vie de Raphael*, t. i. p. 265.

peian citadel itself, behind the huge marble threshold of some gate that has now disappeared; where his eyesight or his memory supplied him with the following catalogue.[1]

There were then extant two arcades belonging to the Tabularium, of which only the lower one now remains. The building was then used as a public depôt for salt, and contained an inscription recording its building by the consuls Q. Lutatius and Q. Catulus. The Pons Fabricius at the Insula Tiberina, and an arch of Tiburtine stone over a road near the Aventine, erected by P. Lentulus Scipio and T. Quinctius Crispinus, have now disappeared. This arch is not mentioned in the *Mirabilia* and *Graphia*. Also the so-called trophies of Marius on the Esquiline. The pyramid of Cestius, and the tomb of C. Publicius Bibulus near the Capitol still exist.

These were all the remains of republican Rome. It may be observed that the author takes no notice of regal Rome, as the Cloaca Maxima and Servian walls. Of the works of the time of Augustus, all that remained entire were the Pantheon and an arch of Tiburtine stone, inscribed with the name of Augustus, between the Palatine Hill and the Tiber. This arch has also vanished, nor is it mentioned in the topographies just cited, though they give an arch of Octavian at the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. But this is the arch of Marcus Aurelius pulled down by Alexander VII.

Of a later period, three arches nearly entire out of six of Vespasian's Temple of Peace and one column. It may be suspected that these were the three arches still extant of the Basilica Constantini, which Poggio

[1] See Sallengre, *Nov. Thesaur. Ant. Rom.* t. i. p. 501 sqq.

does not mention and could not have overlooked. Part of the ancient wall of what he calls the Temple of Romulus, at the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano. Some columns of the portico of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, which are still extant. Remains of the Temple of Castor and Pollux—mistakenly so called for Venus and Rome—at Sta. Maria Nova. The round temple near the Tiber and Aventine—it is a good way from that hill—which he assigns to Vesta. A portion of a temple of Minerva, near the present Piazza Minerva, and a portico close to it buried under ruins, which served as a quarry for stones to make chalk. The walls of this temple were still standing in the time of Andreas Fulvius.[1] A part of the portico of the Temple of Concord, to which we have before adverted. But this temple is now generally held to be that of Saturn, which Poggio places at S. Adrian: thinking probably that the Forum ran north and south, instead of east and west. The Temple of Concord, as we have seen, lay behind the arch of Severus. Poggio does not mention the three columns of the Temple of Titus and Vespasian. A portico of the Temple of Mercury at the fish-market. This, no doubt, is the Porticus Octavia in the Pescheria. A Temple of Apollo at St. Peter's. Whatever may have been this temple, it has been destroyed by the enlargement of the Basilica. A very ancient temple of Tiburtine stone with a single vault; then occupied by the church of S. Michele in Statera, under the supposed Tarpeian rock. From its name it was erroneously taken to be the Temple of Jupiter Stator. A Temple of Juno Lucina was thought to have existed at S. Lorenzo in Lucina; of course, also from the name. There were no

[1] See his *Ant. Urb. Rom.*

remains of it. Large and well-preserved remains of the baths of Diocletian and Severus Antoninus (Caracalla). Portions of the baths of Constantine on the Quirinal, much inferior to those just mentioned. They were identified by an inscription. Large and handsome remains of the baths of Alexander Severus, near the Pantheon. A few ruins of the baths of Domitian (Titus). The triumphal arches of Severus, Titus, and Constantine, almost entire, as they are now. The remains of an arch of Nerva, perhaps in the Forum Nervæ, and the same arch apparently which Raffaelle mentions as having been carried off from the Via Alessandrina. Parts of an arch of Trajan near what Poggio calls the Comitium. This was, perhaps, at the entrance of Trajan's Forum. Two arches on the Via Flaminia, or Corso: one near S. Lorenzo in Lucina, vulgarly called *Triopolis*, was the arch of M. Aurelius already mentioned. The name of the other could not be deciphered. It was probably that vulgarly known as the Arcus Manus Carneæ near St. Mark's, quite at the top of the Corso.[1] Another of Gallienus, which Poggio places on the Via Nomentana, but which really stands on the ancient Via Prænestina, near the church of S. Vito. Of all the aqueducts the Aqua Virgo alone was in use; the rest were in ruins, and the course of some could not even be conjectured. Poggio describes the Colosseum as having been more than half destroyed to make lime; an evident exaggeration. Part of a theatre between the supposed Tarpeian Rock and the Tiber, which our author describes as having been projected by Julius Cæsar. This must have been the theatre of Marcellus, which appears not to have been known by that name in the middle ages.

[1] See above, p. 437.

The *Mirabilia* and *Graphia* call it Theatrum Antonini. Opposite to it were several marble columns, said to be a portion of a round Temple of Jupiter, then occupied with new buildings and gardens. A third amphitheatre of brick, let into the city walls, near Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme. A large open space for sports and spectacles called *Agonis* (the Piazza Navona). The mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian and the bridge of the latter emperor. The mausoleum of Augustus looked like a hill, was covered with vines, and bore the name of Augusta. That of Hadrian, called the Castle of S. Angelo, in great part destroyed, though the inscription was extant. The column of Trajan with part of the inscription, and that of Antoninus (M. Aurelius), of which the inscription was obliterated. The tomb of Cæcilia Metella on the Via Appia, the greater part of which had been reduced to lime (an evident exaggeration). Also a sepulchre of M. Antius Lupus on the Ostian Way.

The enumeration of Poggio is evidently incomplete. He omits the Circus of Maxentius, near the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, the Circus Maximus, some remnants of which seem to have been in existence nearly two centuries later, the double Janus in the Forum Boarium, the Septizonium, destroyed by Sixtus V., the ruins of the imperial palace, and perhaps two or three minor objects. Yet we may infer that some parts of the palace of the Cæsars must have existed in the time of Poggio in a tolerable state of preservation; since even as late as the pontificate of Innocent X. (1644-55), a room was discovered adorned with gold tapestry, and others the walls of which were covered with silver leaf.[1] All trace of the theatre of Pompey may then have vanished;

[1] Gregorovius, B. iii. S. 567.

while the tomb of the Scipios and the adjacent Columbarium were not yet disinterred.

At the time when Poggio wrote, the popes had returned from Avignon, but the schism was not yet entirely healed, nor the papal authority indisputably established. The Romans rose against and expelled Eugenius IV. in 1434, but were soon glad again to submit to a sway which they found to be milder than that of the Ghibelline nobles. After the doings which we have recorded of some of the popes, we cannot but agree with Lord Broughton's opinion that their absence was on the whole rather favourable than otherwise to the ancient monuments: though, no doubt, the modern city suffered in other respects by their residence at Avignon. At Urban VI.'s return, Rome numbered only 17,000 inhabitants.[1] In the time of Eugenius IV., Rome, observes a modern historian, "was become a city of herdsmen; its inhabitants were not distinguishable from the peasants of the neighbouring country. The hills had long been abandoned, and the only part inhabited was the plain along the windings of the Tiber; there was no pavement in the narrow streets, and these were rendered yet darker by the balconies and the buttresses which propped one house against another; the cattle wandered about as in a village. From S. Silvestro to the Porta del Popolo, all was garden and marsh, the haunt of flocks of wild ducks. The very memory of antiquity seemed almost effaced; the *Capitol* was become the *Goats' Hill* (Monte Caprino), the *Forum Romanum* the *Cows' Field* (*Campo Vaccino*). The strangest legends were associated with the few remaining monuments." [2]

[1] Cancellieri, ap. Lord Broughton, vol. i. p. 407; cf. Guicciardini, lib. xv.

[2] Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 480 (Mrs. Austin's translation).

With the final return of the popes the prosperity of Rome revived. But the progress of modern Rome was destructive of the ancient city. Like Saturn, she devoured her own children. Pope Boniface IX. (1389-1394) first erected on the Capitol, on the ruins of the Tabularium, a residence for the Senator and his assessors.[1] The traditions attached to this spot naturally rendered it an object of attraction in all popular movements. It was here that the revolutionary government of Arnold of Brescia established itself (1144); when Pope Lucius II., in a desperate attempt to regain his temporal power, was slain with a stone while assaulting it. Here, Petrarch had received his laurel crown (1341); here, the tribune Rienzi had promulgated the laws of the "good estate." At this period nothing existed on the Capitol but the church and convent of Ara Celi and a few ruins. Yet the cry of the people at the coronation of Petrarch, "Long life to *the Capitol* and the poet!"[2] shows that the scene itself was still more present to their minds than the principal actor on it. The repairs of ancient buildings and the erection of new ones, afterwards vigorously prosecuted by Martin V., Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., and other pontiffs, destroyed many an ancient relic. Of Nicholas especially, the constructive energy had been so pernicious that Æneas Sylvius, whose poetical feeling and classical taste had been offended by the wholesale destruction of ancient monuments, issued in 1462 a bull prohibiting the practice.[3] Nevertheless,

[1] At this period the administration of justice at Rome was intrusted to a *senator*, the native of a place at least forty miles from Rome, and annually elected, assisted by three judges, also foreigners. The municipal government was conducted by three *Conservators*.

[2] Gibbon, vol. viii. p. 227.

[3] Fea, *Dissertazione, &c.* p. 373.

a good deal was done in this way by Sixtus IV., the chief founder of the modern city, and by other succeeding pontiffs. Even the revival of literature and good taste in the pontificate of Leo X. did not at once put an end to this barbarous practice; on which head we have already quoted the complaints of Raffaelle. A little after, Paul III. (Farnese) (1534-1550) employed Michael Angelo to lay out the Piazza del Campidoglio; when he designed the Capitoline Museum and the palace of the Conservators. Pius IV., Gregory XIII., and Sixtus V., added the sculptures and other ornaments that now, with questionable taste, adorn the steps and balustrade. The equestrian statue of M. Aurelius was removed from the Lateran to the Capitol by Michael Angelo in 1538. That artist had also designed the modern approach on the occasion of the visit of the emperor Charles V. in 1536. Rabelais, who was at Rome at that time, has described in one of his letters the new road which was made for Charles's entry: viz., from the Gate of S. Sebastian to the Temple of Peace, the Amphitheatre, and the Capitol, passing through the triumphal arches of Constantine, Vespasian and Titus, Numetianus (?), and others. Then, by the Palace of St. Mark, the Campo di Fiori, and before the Farnese Palace, where the pope was accustomed to reside, by the river banks (?), and under the Castle of S. Angelo. In order to make this road, more than 200 houses and three or four churches were levelled to the ground.[1] Thus, for this peaceable entry, more de-

[1] "Et l'on a fait par le commandement du Pape un chemin nouveau par lequel il doit entrer: sçavoir est, de la Porte S. Sébastien tirant au *Champ-doly*, Templum Pacis et l'Amphithéâtre. Et le fait-on passer sous les antiques Arcs Triomphaux de Constantin, de Vespasian et Titus, de Numetianus et autres. Puis à côté du Palais S. Marc, et de là par camp de Flour et devant le Palais Far-

struction was doubtless committed than by the troops of Charles' coadjutor Bourbon at the capture of Rome some years before.

After the time of Alexander VII., the popes cannot be charged with any further desecration of the monuments; on the contrary, they have devoted considerable care to their preservation. Among the most notable acts of this sort may be mentioned the restoration of the arch of Constantine by Clement XII., and the wall built by Pius VII. to support the Colosseum. In 1750, Benedict XIV. consecrated that structure to the Christians, who had suffered martyrdom in it. It may be doubtful whether the re-erection of an obelisk on a place where it had not originally stood may be appropriately termed a restoration, but it may, at all events, be deemed an improvement. Sixtus V. re-erected no fewer than four obelisks. Innocent X., Alexander VII., Clement XI., and Pius VI. also distinguished themselves in this way. Pius re-erected three obelisks.

Much has recently been done at Rome in the way of discovery and restoration, but many inestimable treasures of art, as well as important fragments and inscriptions, might doubtless be disinterred from the huge mass of soil and rubbish under which the ancient city is buried, if any adequate funds could be provided for such a purpose. The Emperor Napoleon III. set a noble example in this direction by his operations on the Palatine, which entitle him to the gratitude of all the lovers of antiquity; and the present Roman government has followed it with a laudable zeal.

nèse, où soulait demeurer le Pape; puis par les Banques et dessous le Château S. Ange. Pour lequel chemin dresser et égaler on a demoly et abbattu plus de deux cens maisons, et trois ou quatre églises ras terre."—Rabelais, *Lettre* viii. p. 20 (Brux. 1710).

Engraved by Edw.d Weller F.R.G.S.

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